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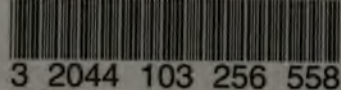
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SCHOOL OF
COMPARATIVE JURISPRUDENCE AND
DIPLOMACY.

COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

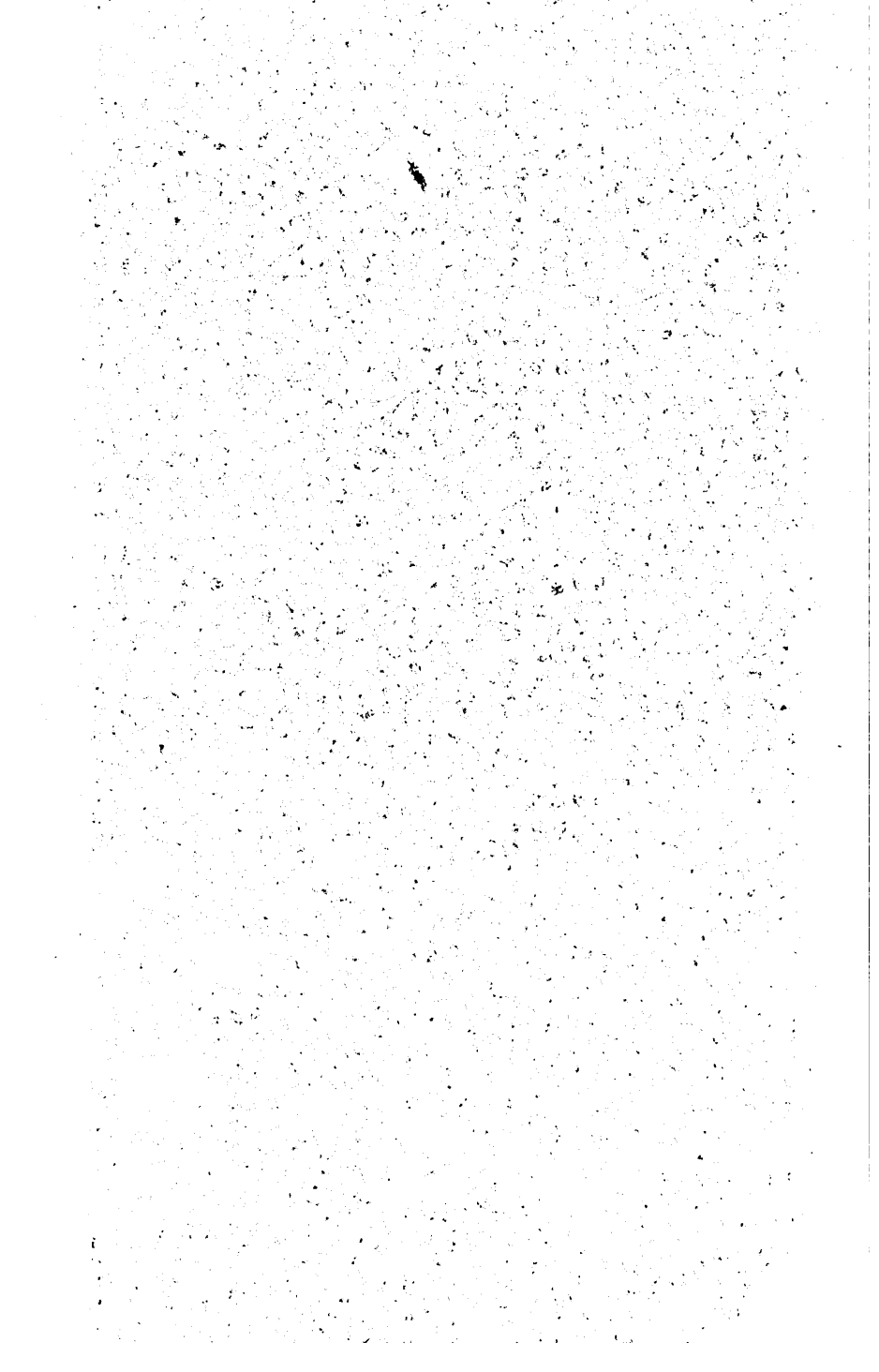
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SCHOOL OF COMPARATIVE JURISPRUDENCE
AND DIPLOMACY.

1899-1900.

COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

BY
HON. DAVID J. HILL, LL. D.

SYNOPSIS.

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Lecture I.—THE STUDY OF DIPLOMACY.

1. Political Science, beginning with the most rudimentary forms of local authority, culminates in the system of relations established between independent States.
2. It embraces :
 - (1) The theory of the State ;
 - (2) The development of Governments, and
 - (3) International relations.

I.—THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE.

1. A *system of States* : (1) Organized ; (2) independent ; (3) sovereign.
2. A *system of Public Law* : (1) Natural ; (2) customary ; (3) conventional.
3. Provisions for the adjustment of differences : (1) War, and (2) Diplomacy.

II.—THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF DIPLOMACY.

1. The transaction of international business is—
 - (1) A *science*, involving the knowledge of international relations, and
 - (2) An *art*, requiring skill in negotiation.
2. It is called "Diplomacy" from the Greek *δίπλωμα*, a document in duplicate.
3. The relation of Diplomacy to Diplomatics.
4. Diplomacy may be defined as the intelligent application of political knowledge to the affairs of sovereign States in their relations with one another.
5. Diplomatic ideals : (1) The maximum advantage ; (2) permanent mutual satisfaction.

III.—THE ORGANIZATION OF DIPLOMACY.

1. The Foreign Office, its origin and development.
2. Diplomatic Agents : (1) Ambassadors ; (2) Ministers Plenipotentiary ; (3) Ministers Resident ; (4) *Chargés d'Affaires*.

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3. Diplomatic Law and Custom.
4. Treaties and Conventions.

IV.—THE DIPLOMATIST.

1. Qualifications:
 - (1) Personal; (2) social; (3) linguistic; (4) technical.
2. Studies:
 - (1) General; (2) special, including (a) International Law, both public and private; (b) Constitutional Law, comparative and historical; (c) Political Economy; (d) Geography, physical, political, and commercial; (e) Statistics; (f) the Genealogy of Sovereign Houses; (g) Treaties and Conventions, with their History, and (h) Current Political Development.

V.—DIPLOMATIC HISTORY.

1. "History the *breviary* of the diplomatist." De Tocqueville.
2. Essential topics:
 - (1) General history of civilization; (2) evolution of political ideas; (3) historical geography; (4) history of diplomacy.
3. Sources of Diplomatic History:
 - (1) Diplomatic Archives—Treaties, protocols, notes, memorandums, instructions, despatches, and reports, and
 - (2) Literary Expositions—Personal letters, memoirs, biographies, essays, and historical narratives.
4. Relative value and use of these sources.

VI.—TREATIES.

1. Treaties the structural results and landmarks of diplomacy; the turning-points of history, marking its epochs.
2. Treaties considered as legal instruments; the pledges and proofs of national rights.

3. Treaties considered as political acts and as expressions of policy.
4. The interpretation of treaties.

VII.—SCHOOLS FOR TEACHING DIPLOMACY.

1. Projects and beginnings in this direction :
 - (1) Project of Henry VIII of England.
 - (2) Project of Torcy at Paris in 1712.
 - (3) Instruction of Schœpflin and Koch at Strasburg and their illustrious disciples.
2. L'Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques at Paris.
3. The School of Comparative Jurisprudence and Diplomacy of the Columbian University.
4. Aims and uses of formal instruction in Diplomacy :
 - (1) As a preparation for public service.
 - (2) As a preparation for legal practice.
 - (3) As an element of general culture.

COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture II.—THE UNITY OF EUROPE UNDER THE EMPIRE.

1. The history of the present political system of Europe includes: (1) The formation of sovereign States; (2) the evolution of diplomacy, and (3) the development of international law.
2. This system has arisen from an antecedent state of theoretical unity.

I.—THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

1. Extent of the Roman Empire. Population about 100 millions.
2. The central authority: (1) The Emperor, who was (a) military chief, (b) first magistrate, and (c) pontifex maximus; (2) the Senate, a body of dignitaries under the absolute control of the Emperor, the mere shadow of republican forms.
3. Local administration: (1) The *City*, a Greco-Latin conception (*civitas*), a totality of men inhabiting a certain territory under a central municipal government, with elective magistrates; (2) the *Province*, a conquered territory under the control of a governor appointed by the Emperor, with a provincial assembly of limited authority.
4. Social classes: (1) Slaves; (2) Freedmen; (3) *Coloni*; (4) Plebs, and (5) Nobles—(a) Equestrian Order (fortune of 400,000 sesterces) and (b) Senatorial Order (fortune of one million sesterces). Free birth and freedom from ignoble deeds essential to noble rank.
5. Life under the Empire. *Pax Romana*. General contentment. National sentiment lost. Reverence for the Emperor.
6. Decadence of the Empire: (1) Social hierarchy based on wealth; (2) imperial encouragement of *latifundia*; (3)

growth of the impoverished class; (4) multiplication of taxes; (5) loss of national character of the army; (6) removal of capital to Byzantium and orientalizing of the Empire.

II.—THE BARBARIC INVASIONS.

1. The barbaric world: (1) Immensity; (2) fecundity; (3) migratory habits; (4) devotion to personal leadership.
2. Period of invasions—A. D. 376–526.
3. Memorable dates: (1) Removal of the capital to Byzantium, 321; (2) division of the Empire into Eastern and Western by Valens and Valentinian, 364; (3) death of Theodosius and final division of the Empire, 395; (4) capture of Rome by Odoacer and end of the Western Empire, 476; (5) conquests and legislation of Justinian (527–565).
4. The barbarian kingdoms and the period of anarchy in Europe. Theodoric in Italy (487).
5. Lasting influence of the Empire: (1) The Church; (2) the Roman Law; and (3) the memory of political unity and the ancient *pax Romana*; but the Empire had become a mere theory.

III.—THE EMPIRE RESTORED BY CHARLES THE GREAT.

1. The Kingdom of the Franks.
2. Decline of the Merovingian dynasty and election of Pepin the Short as King (752).
3. Transaction of Stephen II, the Bishop of Rome, with Pepin the Short (753).
4. Services of Charles the Great, King of the Franks (768), and his coronation as Emperor at Rome (800).
5. Organization of the Empire: (1) Suppression of the duchies; (2) the *missi dominici*; (3) the schools of Charles the Great.
6. Obstructions to the unification of Europe: (1) Difficulty of communication; (2) deficiency of money; (3) decentralizing tendencies of feudalism; (4) the national diversities of race and law.

7. Partitions of the Empire of Charles: (1) During the life of his son, Lewis I (814-840); (2) at his death—
 { Lothair becomes Emperor;
 { Lewis, King of Germany;
 { Charles, King of France.
8. Battle of Fontenay (841) and the Treaty of Verdun (843),
 “the most permanent in its influence on the map of Europe of any treaty ever made.”
9. Origin of France and Germany, the significance of this partition.
10. The debatable ground between France and Germany.
11. Reunion of territory under Charles the Fat (881-888) and extinction of the Carolingian dynasty.

IV.—THE EMPIRE OVERWHELMED WITH BARBARISM.

1. General invasion of Europe: (1) Arabs; (2) Danes and Norsemen; (3) Hungarians.
2. Development of the Feudal System: (1) Ownership of land and sovereignty united; (2) institution of serfdom; (3) the feudal hierarchy; (4) the cities; (5) the guilds.
3. The “phantom emperors” (888-962).

V.—RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE BY OTTO THE GREAT.

1. Otto, King of Germany, crowned at Rome (962).
2. Theory of “The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation”: (1) *Divine authority* manifests itself *civally* in the Emperor, *spiritually* in the Pope, producing a World-State and a World-Church; (2) Empire and Church are each absolute in their sphere, but parts of one supreme plan of divine government.
3. Relation of Emperor and Pope under the Ottos: (1) Otto I deposes Pope John XII; (2) Otto III nominates successive reform pontiffs.

VI.—THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY.

1. Doctrine of Cluny, that the Pope must be independent of the Emperor. Rise of Hildebrand, afterward Gregory VII.

2. Henry III, Emperor (1046–1056), the most powerful king of German history, resists this movement.
3. War of the Investitures. (1) Independence of the Papacy declared (1059); (2) Humiliation of Henry IV (1076); (3) Concordat of Worms (1122); (4) Authority of Innocent III (1216); (5) Complete triumph of the Papacy (1250).
4. The Papacy becomes an absolute power. (1) Formation of the Canon Law; (2) Bulls forbidding submission of clergy to lay princes; (3) Claims of supremacy and tribute; (4) Conflict of Boniface VIII with Philip IV of France; (5) the Captivity of Babylon (1305–1370).
5. The Electoral College. The Golden Bull of Charles IV (1356) and the *Wahlcapitulationen*.

COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture III.—THE ORIGIN OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

1. The disintegration of the Empire was followed by the rise of great monarchies.
2. Diplomacy had its origin in the Italian city republics, the earliest independent parts of the disintegrated Empire.
3. The modern States System of Europe grew out of the effort to balance the forces brought into being by the rise of the great monarchies.

I.—THE RISE OF THE GREAT MONARCHIES.

1. Feudalism rendered Europe the seat of anarchy and universal private war.
2. General causes leading toward local political centralization :
 - (1) the *Crusades* (1096-1270), which (a) aroused the ambitions of great chiefs, (b) united great masses of men under common leaders, (c) acted as an intellectual stimulus, and (d) promoted the growth of commerce ;
 - (2) the *growth and foundation of cities*, which (a) developed trade and industries, (b) necessitated better communication, (c) increased the third estate, (d) required a better protection of property, and (e) tended to centralize and strengthen government ;
 - (3) the *increased use of money* and establishment of *seigniorage*, which (a) enabled the people to pay taxes in-lieu of feudal service, and (b) thus permitted their rulers to provide paid armies ;
 - (4) the *invention of gunpowder* (1354) and the use of *artillery*, which changed the character of warfare ;
 - (5) the disposition of the *Third Estate* to look to kings as protectors against the rapacities of local lords ;
 - (6) revival of the study of *Roman Law*, which was in principle monarchical, and extension of the royal courts of justice ;
 - (7) the union of powerful houses by *marriage* ;
 - (8) the disposition of the *Papacy* to advance the local monarchies, in order to assume imperial power.

3. Monarchy was the only practicable refuge from anarchy, and the great kings became the "fathers of their people," the representatives of law, order, and public safety.

II.—THE FORMATION OF FRANCE.

1. Otto the Great was the last Emperor whose suzerainty was recognized by France (973), and by the election of Hugh Capet (987) the royalty began to be a reality and became hereditary. The two great tasks of royalty: (1) the recovery of the territory from the great barons, and (2) the expulsion of the English, who, in 1154, under the Angevins, held three-fourths of France.
2. Philip II, called Augustus (1180–1223), founds the University of Paris (1200) and attaches the teachers and lawyers to the cause of the Monarchy.
3. Louis IX (1226–1270), called Saint Louis, establishes the coin of the realm and forbids the lords to coin money.
4. Philip IV (1285–1314), called the Fair, debases the currency and increases the army (1303), prohibits private wars (1304), and proclaims himself the sole legislator of the Kingdom, denying the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. He defeats Boniface VIII (1303) and establishes the Papacy at Avignon (1308). He originates the States General and establishes the Third Estate.
5. Louis X (1314–1316) enfranchises all the serfs of the royal domain (1315).
6. Louis XI (1461–1483) assumes the authority of the States General (1470) and dominates the Kingdom. He establishes the royal postal system. Use of artillery.
7. Territorial expansion of France: (1) The Hundred Years' War (1336–1451) and the expulsion of the English; (2) the acquisition of Burgundy, Provence, and Brittany (1483–1497).

III.—THE FORMATION OF ENGLAND.

1. William the Conqueror invades and conquers England (1066).

2. The Angevin Kings (1154-1450) and their empire—England, France, Ireland, Wales, Scotland—not a consolidated monarchy.
3. The Wars of the Roses (1450-1471), a baronial contest for royal supremacy.
4. Accession of the Tudors. Union of rival claims by marriage of Henry of Lancaster and Elizabeth of York. Henry VII (1485).

IV.—THE FORMATION OF SPAIN.

1. Spain, broken up into small kingdoms, was reduced toward the middle of the 15th century to the Christian Kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, and the Moorish Kingdom of Granada.
2. Ferdinand of Aragon (1479-1516) and Isabella of Castile (1474-1504) united the greater part of Spain by marriage (1469).
3. The Kingdom of Granada captured and the Moors expelled from power (1492).
4. Unification of the Spanish Peninsula, except Portugal, which was not annexed until 1580, and became independent again in 1640, under a Spanish Monarchy.
5. Discovery of America (1492) and establishment of the Spanish Colonial Empire.

V.—OTHER STATES OF EUROPE.

1. Germany still in a state of feudal anarchy, but falling under the power of the Hapsburgs.
2. Italy, a mere geographic expression, comprising six principal States: (1) The Duchy of Milan; (2) the Republic of Venice; (3) the Republic of Florence; (4) the Republic of Genoa; (5) the States of the Church, and (6) the Kingdom of Naples; with numerous small States like Savoy and Ferrara.
3. Switzerland, a group of canton republics, having thrown off the yoke of Burgundy, and later of the Empire (1474).

4. The Northern Monarchies: (1) Sweden; (2) Poland; (3) Denmark; (4) Bohemia; (5) Hungary.
5. The Ottoman Empire, established at Constantinople by the capture of that city in 1453.

VI.—THE BIRTHPLACE OF DIPLOMACY.

1. Early weakening of the Empire in Italy and rise of the City Republics—Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Venice.
2. The commercial interests and military feebleness of these Republics leads them to frequent negotiations for unity of action, from which their local jealousies divert them.
3. Development of diplomatic relations: (1) Ambassadors; (2) instructions; (3) reports.
4. Character of Italian diplomacy: (1) Espionage; (2) bribery; (3) formation of factions; (4) intrigues.
5. Influence of Machiavelli upon Europe: (1) His missions; (2) his works.
6. The system of equilibrium practiced in Italy.
7. Italy initiates Europe into the relations of international life, and about 1500 a *European system* begins to be formed: (1) Permanent embassies are established; (2) departments of foreign affairs begin to be formed; (3) European politics come into being; (4) national ambitions tend to expand; (5) diplomacy becomes a vocation and offers a career.

COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture IV.—THE AMBITIONS OF FRANCE.

1. France, consolidated and unified by the destruction of feudalism and the expulsion of the English, feels aspirations toward universal monarchy.
2. Effects of the Renaissance upon the whole of Europe—an international influence.
3. Revival of national sentiment and admiration for monarchy as an instrument of culture opposed to Mediævalism.

I.—PROJECTS OF CHARLES VIII IN ITALY.

1. The state of Italy: (1) Universal rule of little tyrants; (2) dissolute character of the papacy under Alexander VI (1492-1503) (Rodrigo Borgia); (3) death of Lorenzo de Medici (1492), who had maintained the equilibrium of Italy; (4) general expectations from foreign intervention; (5) Italy a prey to the invader.
2. Preparations of Charles VIII for the invasion of Italy and conquest of the East: (1) A large sum of money to England by the treaty of Etaples (November 3, 1492); (2) retrocession of Cerdagne and Roussillon to Spain by the treaty of Narbonne (January 19, 1493); (3) cession of Artois and Franche-Comté to the Emperor by the treaty of Senlis (May 23, 1493).
3. Italian promises: (1) Ludovic, regent of Milan, who wishes to displace his nephew; (2) Cardinal Julian de la Rovere, who covets the papacy; (3) Savonarola, who wishes to chastise Florence; (4) Venice, which desires to terrify the Turks; (5) Pisa, which hopes for release from Florence.
4. Charles bases his rights on his claim to the Kingdom of Naples through Charles of Anjou (1266).

5. Descent of Charles into Italy, September 2, 1494. Opposed by a coalition between Spain, Milan, Naples, and the Pope, soon joined by Venice. Character of his reception in the Italian cities—Pisa, Florence, Sienna, Rome. His exercise of imperial functions.
6. Abdication of Alphonso II of Naples, surrender to Charles, and his entry with imperial insignia.
7. Initiation of Philippe de Commynes in Italian diplomacy.
8. Homeward march of Charles VIII, battle of Farnoue (July 6, 1495), and destruction of the French army.

II.—ITALIAN EXPLOITS OF LOUIS XII (1498-1515).

1. Conquest of Milan (1499).
2. Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples: (1) Alliance with the Borgias; (2) the Treaty of Granada (1500) for the partition of Naples between Spain and France; (3) conflict over the spoils and the withdrawal of Louis XII by the humiliating Treaty of Blois (1504).
3. The League of Cambray (1508) between France, Spain, and the Empire, formed by Pope Julius II (1503-1513) for the destruction of Venice: (1) Allies invade Italy (1509); (2) Julius II abandons the alliance and forms the "Holy League," composed of England, Spain, Venice, and the Pope, to expel the invaders, the Pope becoming a warrior and Louis XII organizing the bishops against him (1510); (3) defection of the Italians and expulsion of the French from Italy, notwithstanding the French victory at the battle of Ravenna (April 11, 1511).

III.—FRANCIS I ATTEMPTS THE CONQUEST OF ITALY.

1. Character and education of Francis I: (1) His mother, Louise of Savoy; (2) imperial aspirations inspired by her; (3) "un roi gentilhomme."
2. The Court of Francis: (1) Subjection of the nobility accomplished; (2) the court becomes the center of influence; (3) fortune in the service of the King in war and diplomacy.

3. The way to Italy barred to Francis (1) by the Swiss, organized for Pope Leo X (1513-1521) by the Cardinal of Sion; (2) by a league between the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, and the Sforzas of Milan.
4. Francis forms an alliance with Venice and forces his way through the Alps (September, 1515).
5. Battle of Marignan and capture of Milan by the French (September 14, 1515).
6. Diplomatic victory of Leo X: (1) Preservation of Italian equilibrium; (2) domination of the Medici at Florence; (3) autonomy of Naples; (4) the Concordat of Bologna—royal nomination with papal investiture of the French clergy.
7. The Emperor abandons Italy to France.
8. Francis I makes plans for election as Emperor (1517).



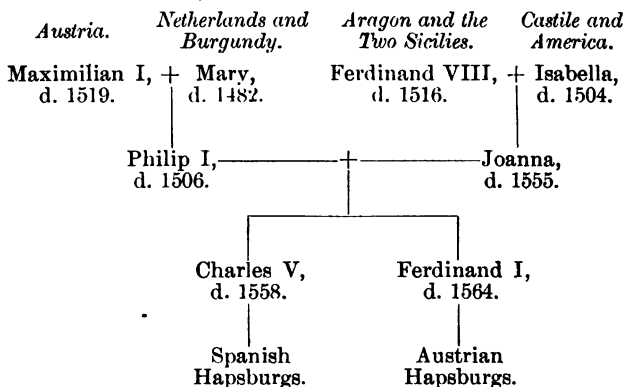
COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture V.—THE SUPREMACY OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

1. Francis aspires to imperial honors.
2. Opposed by Charles V of the House of Austria.

I.—RISE OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

1. Rudolph of Hapsburg, an obscure prince, whose ancestral estates were in the Aargau, in Switzerland, chosen Emperor in 1273 because of his feebleness, acquired the Duchy of Austria, which he bestowed upon his son Albert in 1282.
2. From Albert II of Hapsburg (Emperor 1438) the Empire becomes practically hereditary in the House of Austria.
3. Maximilian I (1493–1519) establishes the House of Austria in the primacy of Europe.
4. Consolidation of the House of Austria :



5. Possessions of Charles V: (1) Spain; (2) Netherlands and Burgundy; (3) estates in Germany; (4) America.

II.—THE IMPERIAL ELECTION OF 1519.

1. Plans of Francis I before the death of Maximilian: (1) Negotiations with the Electors; (2) advice of Franz von Sickingen; (3) moneyed opposition of Maximilian.
2. The Empire for sale: (1) Death of Maximilian January 12, 1519; (2) Francis proposes to spend three millions; (3) wholesale bribery of the Electors.
3. Henry VIII, of England, becomes a candidate.
4. The Fuggers subsidize Charles V.
5. The Elector of Mayence, after exhausting the spoils, carries the day for Charles V (June 28, 1519).
6. The Field of the Cloth of Gold. Henry the ally of Charles. Influence of Wolsey.

III.—THE ATTEMPTS TO DISMEMBER FRANCE.

1. Francis I, deceived, becomes aggressive.
2. Pope Leo X sides with the Emperor.
3. Defection of Charles of Bourbon.
4. The Emperor, Charles of Bourbon, and Henry VIII plan the partition and effacement of France.
5. Invasion of Provence (1524) and expulsion of the Spanish.
6. The battle of Pavia (February 24, 1525), capture, and imprisonment of Francis I.

IV.—DIPLOMACY OF FRANCE AGAINST THE EMPEROR.

1. Louise of Savoy buys off Henry VIII (June to August, 1525).
2. Treaty of Madrid and release of Francis I (January, 1526).
3. League of Cognac, the Pope (Clement VII, 1523-1534), Florence, Venice, and Milan unite with Francis against the Emperor (May, 1526).
4. Hungary and Bohemia excited against the Emperor (1526).
5. Alliance of Francis with Sultan Soliman the Magnificent. Turkey enters European politics.

6. Charles of Bourbon sacks Rome (1527), for which the Emperor is held responsible.
7. The Peace of Cambray, or "Ladies' Peace" (August 3, 1529), negotiated by Louise of Savoy and Marguerite of Burgundy: (1) France keeps the Duchy of Burgundy, but gives up Artois and certain cities in Flanders; (2) the two sons of Francis held as hostages in Spain are released for two million ecus; (3) Francis, becoming a widower, agrees to marry Eleanor, sister of Charles V; (4) Italy abandoned to the Emperor.

V.—THE ALLIANCE OF FRANCIS WITH THE POPE.

1. Negotiations with Henry VIII and his divorce from Catherine of Aragon (October, 1532).
2. Marriage of Henry, Duke of Orleans (later Henry II), to Catherine de Medici, niece of Pope Clement VII (October, 1533). Motives of the Pope.
3. Excommunication of Henry VIII and cessation of friendship with Francis (1534).
4. The Duke of Savoy divested of his estates, and conquest of Piedmont by the French (1535).
5. War begun on the frontier of Flanders (1536).
6. Mediation of the Pope, Paul III (1534-1549), and Armistice of Nice, arranged by Queen Eleanor with her brother, the Emperor (June 18, 1538).
7. The revolt of Ghent, visit of the Emperor to Francis, and his bad faith in giving Milan to Philip II (1540).
8. Last struggle of Francis I. The success of the Turks in Hungary and Algiers turns all Europe against him. Charles V and Henry VIII form a new coalition for the partition of France. The brilliant French victory of Cerisole, in Italy (April 14, 1544), leads to the Peace of Crespy (September, 1554), and Henry VIII, by the Treaty of Ardres (January 29, 1546), is reconciled to Francis, who dies in 1547.

VI.—THE OPPOSITION OF HENRY II AND ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.

1. Invasion of Italy invited by Paul III (Farnese) for the restoration of Parma and Plaisance, taken from his son (1547).
2. Henry II regards the north the vulnerable part of the Empire: (1) Alliance with the German Protestants (January, 1552); (2) invasion of Germany and annexation of three bishoprics—Metz, Verdun, and Toul (July, 1552); (3) invasion of Flanders (1553–1554).
3. Charles V accords religious peace at Augsburg (September 26, 1555), and abdicates (October 25, 1555), leaving Spain, the Netherlands, Italy, and America to Philip II, who had married Mary Tudor (1554), and the Empire to Ferdinand I, Duke of Austria.
4. Truce of Vaucelles (1556), leaving the three bishoprics and Corsica to France.
5. Pope Paul IV (1555–1559) precipitates war in Italy (1557) against Spain aided by England; the French are defeated at St. Quentin (August 10, 1557), and the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis (April 3, 1559) ordains: (1) The abandonment of Calais by the English for a money indemnity; (2) the reëstablishment of the Duke of Savoy; (3) the practical abandonment of Italy by France; (4) the marriage of Philip II, now a widower, to Elizabeth, and of the Duke of Savoy to Margaret, daughter of Henry II, who is killed in a tournament during the marriage fêtes, July 10, 1559.

COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture VI.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

1. Europe without authoritative public law.
2. War the only recourse for the settlement of differences.

I.—EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION.

1. Changes in the creed and organization of the Church: (1) Luther posts his theses (1517); (2) formally denies papal control (1519); (3) the Diet of Worms (1521); (4) Luther's translation of the Bible (1522-1534).
2. Disruption of the Empire from within: (1) the Smalkaldic League (1530); (2) alliance of France with the Protestant States (1552); (3) Maurice of Saxony abandons the Emperor (1552); (4) the Peace of Augsburg (1555) recognizes Lutheranism.
3. The abdication of Charles V (1555) was in effect the abdication of the Empire. The political and religious unity of Europe was ended.
4. The Empire and the Church having failed as an international authority, a new agency of international adjustment was necessary. Amidst the ruin of *institutions*, it could be sought only *in principles*.
5. The only common possession left to Europe was the human mind in the presence of nature and history. Science, art, religion, and law were to be fundamentally reconstructed.

II.—THE WARS OF RELIGION.

1. The period 1555-1648 a continuous conflict between religious parties.
2. Holland revolted against Philip II and established a republic with religious freedom (1564-1572).

3. England a scene of religious struggle, plot, and persecution (1534-1648).
4. France is rent with civil strife between Protestants and Catholics till Henry IV issues the Edict of Nantes (1529-1598).
5. Germany is filled with discord and almost continuous war (1536-1648).
6. Spain maintains religious unity by means of the Inquisition.
7. Need of public law based on justice.

III.—THE PREDECESSORS OF GROTIUS.

1. The early maritime codes, "The Judgments of Oléron," "The Consolato del Mare," etc., the only international law of the Middle Ages.
2. Application of the principles of the Canon Law by ecclesiastical councils—in effect European congresses—to the affairs of nations.
3. Theological moralists: (1) Francisco Victoria, of Salamanca (1480-1546), advocates the rights of native tribes; (2) Dominique Soto, successor of Victoria (1494-1560), defends the rights of the Indians and opposes the slave-trade; (3) Francisco Saurez (1548-1617) was the first to point out that a kind of customary law had arisen from the usages of nations. All these writers are chiefly occupied with questions of international morality, such as the justice of war, the right to declare it, the causes which justify it, and the rights of the victor. The human conscience becomes aware of international rights and duties.
4. International jurists: (1) Balthazar Ayala (1548-1584), a Spanish jurisconsult, under the title of *De jure et officiis belli*, writes on the subject of war in a historico-juridical spirit; (2) Conrad Brunius (1491-1563), a German jurist, writes of the rights and duties of ambassadors; (3) Albericus Gentilis (1552-1608), an Italian professor of jurisprudence at Oxford, publishes his *De legationibus* in 1583 and his *De jure belli* in 1589. Lampredi regards him as "the father of the modern science of public law," an honor usually reserved to Grotius.

5. Henry IV of France (1589-1610) must be counted a precursor of Grotius. His "Great Design," reported by Sully, was worthy of the author of the Edict of Nantes (1598).

IV.—THE LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF GROTIUS.

1. Hugo van Groot born in Delft, Holland, April 10, 1583, son of a burgomaster.
2. Latin poet at 8, defended theses in philosophy at 15, practiced at the bar at 17. Historian, theologian, jurist, statesman. Presented to Henry IV of France.
3. Elected Pensionary of Rotterdam, 1610.
4. Relations to Barneveld. Imprisonment (1618) and liberation (1621). Escape to France and presentation to Louis XIII, who accords him a pension.
5. Composition of his *De jure belli ac pacis* (1623-1624); published 1625. Dedicated to Louis XIII.
6. Reception of his book. Treated as a classic.
7. Sent to Paris as ambassador of Sweden by Oxenstiern (1635).
8. Died at Rostock after a shipwreck (1645).
9. His *Mare liberum* (1609) answered by Selden (1635).

V.—THE DOCTRINE OF GROTIUS.

1. From the authority of the Empire and the Church, no longer effective, Grotius appeals to Humanity: (1) "There is a kindred established among us by nature" (Proleg. 14); (2) "The mother of Right—that is, of Natural Law—is Human Nature" (Pro. 16); (3) "That society which includes the whole human race needs the recognition of rights" (Pro. 23); (4) "Natural Law is the dictate of right reason" (X 1).
2. As the law of human nature is universally binding, there is a law of war as well as of peace: (1) "War is never to be undertaken except to assert rights, and when undertaken is never to be carried on except within the limits of rights" (Pro. 25); (2) "In the conflict of arms laws must be silent, but only *civil* laws, not those which are *perpetual*"

(Pro. 26); (3) "No one readily joins himself to those who think lightly of right laws" (Pro. 27).

3. Natural Law must be distinguished from Conventional Law: (1) "Natural Law is always the same, but institutions change" (Pro. 30); (2) "The study of true justice, omitting all which is derived from the will of man alone, would afford us a complete body of jurisprudence" (Pro. 31).
4. Natural Law must be distinguished from the Law of Nations, the former being a body of deductions from the general principles of *reason*, the latter a body of doctrines based on *consent*: "For what cannot be deduced from certain principles by solid reasoning, and yet is seen and observed everywhere, must have its origin from the will and consent of all" (Pro. 40).
5. The Roman Law "often supplies the best means of showing what belongs to the nature of Right" (Pro. 53).
6. Defects in the Doctrine of Grotius: (1) As regards *slavery*, which he justifies on the ground (a) of contract, for why, if a man may sell his labor for recompense, may he not sell his liberty for subsistence and protection? and (b) of conquest, for, if the conqueror may impose his will upon the vanquished, may he not exact their services? (2) as regards *property*, which he considers is acquired by first occupation, neglecting the element of labor; (3) as regards *sovereignty*, which he identifies with supreme power derived by force, disregarding the state as a moral organism; (4) as regards *neutrality*, of which he has no conception.

COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture VII.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

1. The Thirty Years' War a crucible in which Europe was transformed.
2. For the first time public law becomes influential in Europe.
3. A system of pacific equilibrium among the States is sought, based on independence and justice.
4. The point of departure is the question of religious freedom raised by the Reformation.

I.—PRELIMINARIES TO THE WAR.

1. Charles V profits by the religious commotion of Germany to establish absolute power.
2. Proscription of Luther and his adherents (1521).
3. Fearing destruction, the Protestant princes form the League of Smalkald (1536) under John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse.
4. Charles V, engaged in foreign wars, neglects to attack the League, and it consolidates its power.
5. Alliance of Maurice of Saxony with Charles V, in the hope of becoming Elector of Saxony, and imperial victory at Mühlberg (1547).
6. Charles V, becoming a dictator, dismisses his troops; Maurice becomes Elector, and, denied justice, revolts and allies himself against the Emperor with Henry II of France (1552).
7. The Emperor, surprised and defeated, concludes The Transaction of Passau (August 12, 1552), by which a diet for the settlement of differences is promised.
8. The Diet of Augsburg (1555) results in: (1) Permission to each prince to choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism, his choice binding his subjects; and (2) the ecclesiastical reservation, by which every ecclesiastic becoming Lutheran loses his benefice.

9. Long truce under the tolerant Emperors Ferdinand I (1555-'64) and Maximilian II (1564-'76).
10. The Succession of Juliers (1609), strengthening of the Evangelical Union and formation of the Catholic League (1610).
11. Project of Henry IV to cement the peace of Europe by abasing the House of Austria and death of Henry (1610).
12. The "Letters of Majesty" issued by Rudolph II (1576-1612) and the "Defenestration of Prague" (1618).

II. THE BOHEMIAN PERIOD (1618-1625).

1. Death of the Emperor Mathias (1612-1619) and accession of Ferdinand II. His character and purposes.
2. Frederick V, Elector Palatine, elected King of Bohemia in place of Ferdinand II, deposed (1619).
3. Forces which the Elector supposed possible to combine against the Emperor: (1) England; (2) Holland; (3) Hungary; (4) Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania; (5) the Duke of Savoy; (6) France, and (7) the Evangelical Union.
4. Allies of Ferdinand II: (1) The Pope; (2) Spain; (3) the Elector of Saxony, and (4) Maximilian of Bavaria, head of the Catholic League.
5. The defection of the Elector Palatine's allies and the Treaty of Ulm (July 3, 1620).
7. Battle of Prague (November 8, 1620), flight of Frederick, invasion of the Palatinate by the Spaniards, and transfer of the Electorate to Maximilian of Bavaria.
8. Devastation of Bohemia; 27 nobles decapitated, 900 estates confiscated, 38,000 families driven into exile. Restitution of Catholicism.

III.—THE DANISH PERIOD (1625-1630).

1. Christian IV of Denmark, disturbed by the danger to the Germanic system and sustained by England and Holland, who fear the revival of imperial power, attacks the Emperor (1625).

2. Advent of Richelieu to power in France (1626). His policy. His task. Subsidy of 600,000 francs to Denmark.
3. Waldstein, Prince of Friedland: (1) Character; (2) his barbaric army; (3) his troops supported by pillage.
4. Imperial victory at Lütter (August 27, 1626) and conquest of North Germany.
5. Peace of Lübeck (May, 1629): (1) Easy terms to Christian IV; (2) the Edict of Restitution (March 6, 1629); (3) Germany at the mercy of the imperial army under Waldstein.

IV.—THE SWEDISH PERIOD (1630-1635).

1. The Diet of Ratisbonne (1630): (1) The influence of Père Joseph; (2) reaction against the House of Austria; (3) Waldstein deprived of command; (4) refusal to elect Ferdinand's son King of the Romans.
2. Gustavus Adolphus: (1) Greatness of Sweden and recent victories; (2) devotion of Gustavus to Protestantism; (3) invasion of Germany (July 6, 1630); (4) passivity of the Protestant princes; (5) the sack of Magdeburg by the imperials (May 20, 1631); (6) success of Gustavus; (7) the Emperor appeals to Waldstein; (8) battle of Lützen and death of Gustavus (November 16, 1632).
3. Oxenstiern assumes direction of the war and convokes the Protestant States at Heilbronn (March, 1633).
4. By the Treaty of Heilbronn Louis XIII engages to pay Sweden one million francs annually during the war.
5. Death of Waldstein (February 25, 1634).
6. Battle of Nordlingen, defection of the Elector of Saxony, and Treaty of Prague (May 30, 1635).
7. The Peace of Prague involved: (1) The sacrifice of the Elector Palatine and many other princes; (2) the enrichment of the Elector of Saxony, and the Duke of Bavaria confirmed as an Elector; (3) exclusion from the Diet of Protestant princes possessors of ecclesiastical estates; (4) exclusion of Sweden from the peace.

V.—THE FRENCH PERIOD (1635–1648).

1. Decadence of Sweden and danger to the Germanic constitution.
2. Richelieu heads the attack on the Emperor.
3. The French treaties of alliance :
 - (1) Treaty of Rivoli (July 11, 1635), engaging with the Duke of Savoy a partition of the Duchy of Milan for military services ;
 - (2) Treaty of Paris (October 8, 1635), engaging with the United Provinces a partition of the Spanish Netherlands ;
 - (3) Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (October 26, 1635), engaging with Bernard of Saxe-Weimar a subsidy of four millions a year for 18,000 men and promising him Alsatia ;
 - (4) Treaty of Wismar (March 20, 1636), engaging with Sweden a subsidy of a million a year and a common attack on the Emperor ;
 - (5) Treaty of Wesel (October 21, 1637), engaging with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel a subsidy of 200,000 rix dollars for 10,000 men ;
 - (6) Treaty of Paris (June 27, 1641), engaging with John IV of Portugal, the crown of that Kingdom for the service of a fleet ;

And seventy other treaties of alliance.
4. Campaigns in the Netherlands, on the Rhine, in Saxony, Italy, and Spain, and finally in Bavaria and Bohemia, where, at Prague, the Thirty Years' War ends (July 26, 1648).
5. Condition of Germany at the conclusion of the war.

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Lecture VIII.—THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

1. The Peace of Westphalia was—
 - (1) Politically, the reconstruction of Europe;
 - (2) Religiously, the establishment of local liberty; and
 - (3) Legally, the formation of a fundamental code for the European nations.
2. It reduced to practice the great conceptions of Grotius.

I.—THE PRELIMINARIES.

1. Congress of Cologne (1636) and ineffectual mediation of the Pope.
2. The Diet of 1640 and decision to meet for negotiation at Münster and Osnabruck.
3. Preliminaries of Hamburg, mediation of the King of Denmark (December 25, 1641), and settlement of a Congress for 1642.
4. The Emperor repudiates the arrangements, but a congress is finally called for July 11, 1643, the French meeting the Emperor's representatives at Münster, the Swedes at Osnabruck.
5. Personnel of the plenipotentiaries. Questions of precedence.
6. Form of negotiations: (1) Mediation; (2) language; (3) separation of Catholics and Protestants.

II—OBJECTS OF NEGOTIATION.

1. Imperial affairs: (1) Amnesty; (2) rights and prerogatives of the States of the Empire; (3) griefs of religion—ecclesiastical reservation, right of reformation, free exercise of religion, collection of church taxes, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, plurality of votes in the Diet, deputations of the Empire, etc.

2. Satisfaction of the Powers—indemnity for the cost of war :
 (1) For France ; (2) for Sweden ; (3) for Hesse-Cassel ; (4)
 for Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick on account
 of territories demanded by Sweden.

III.—THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION.

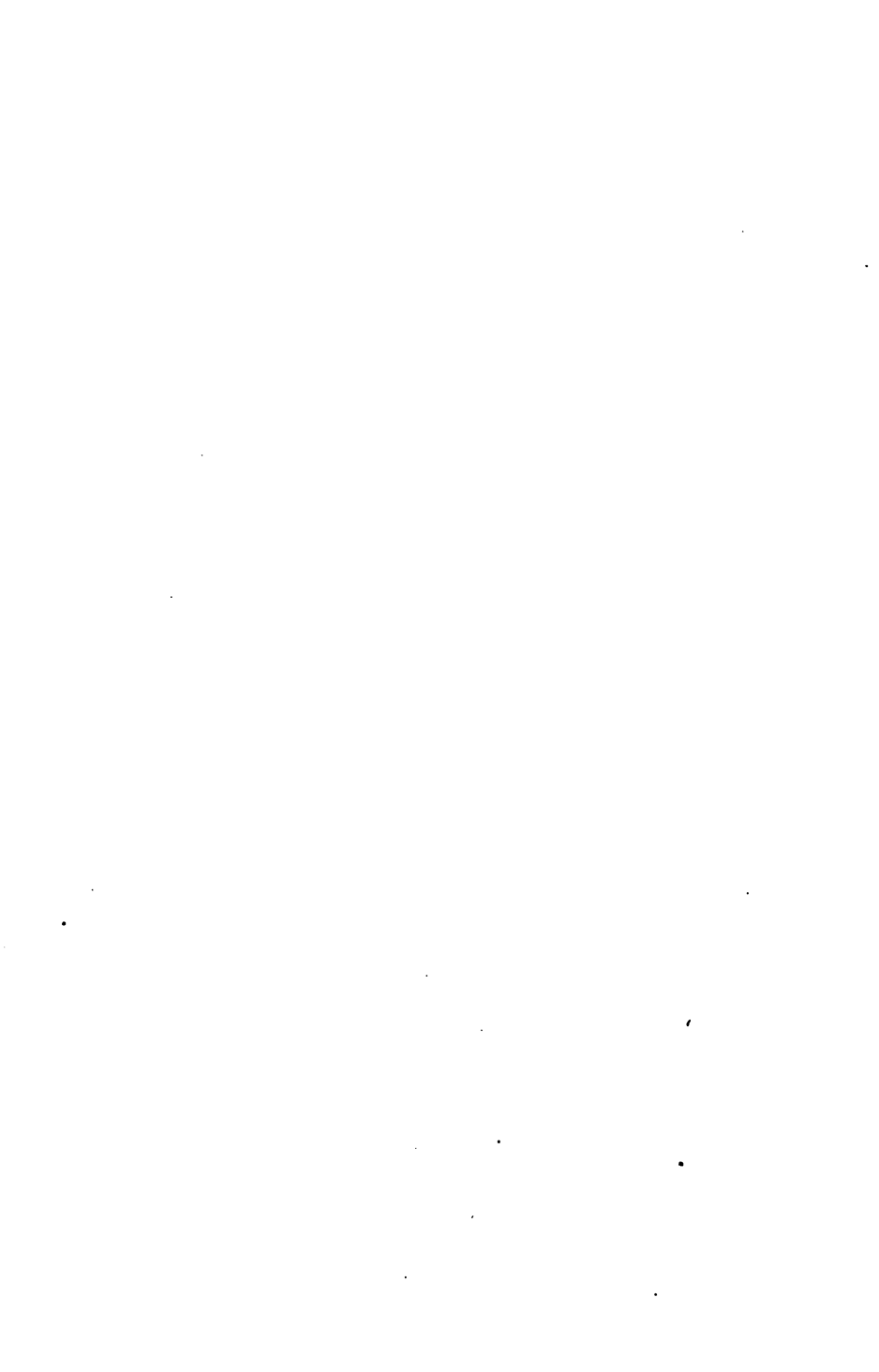
1. Last delegates arrive in June, 1645.
2. First propositions made in June and replies delayed till December.
3. Negotiations really begin in January, 1646.
4. The Peace signed at Osnabruck August 6, and at Münster September 8, and published October 24, 1648.
5. Ratifications exchanged February 18, 1649.
6. The Treaties of Westphalia were composed of—
 - (1) That of Münster, between France, the Empire, and the Emperor ; and
 - (2) That of Osnabruck, between Sweden, the Empire, and the Emperor.
7. The war continues between France, aided by the Duke of Savoy, and Spain, aided by the Duke of Lorraine. Also between Spain and Portugal.
8. A separate peace concluded between Spain and the United Provinces in January, 1648. Closing of the Escant and ruin of Antwerp.
9. Protests against the Peace of Westphalia by the Pope and Spain.

IV.—RESULTS OF THE PEACE.

1. Territorial arrangements: (1) *For France*, confirmation of the possession of High and Low Alsatia, of the Sundgau, and of the ten imperial cities of Alsatia, except Strasburg ; right of garrison in Brisach and Philipsburg ; free navigation of the Rhine ; recognition of the conquest of the three bishoprics ; cession of Pignerol (Piédmont) ; (2) *for Sweden*, possession of Nearer Pomerania, with Stettin, the islands of Wollin, Usedom and Rügen, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, with expectation of the whole of

Pomerania and the bishopric of Camin, the port of Wismar, and three votes in the Diet; (3) *for Brandenburg*, the bishoprics of Magdeburg, Minden, Camin, and Holberstadt, secularized; (4) *for Mecklenburg*, the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzeburg; (5) *for the Elector of Palatin*, restitution of all his domains, except the High Palatinate, left to Bavaria, and restoration of the title of Elector; (6) recognition of the independence of Switzerland and of the United Provinces.

2. Religious arrangements: (1) Confirmation of the Peace of Passau and of Augsburg (1555); (2) extension to the Calvinists of the advantages which these two acts had accorded to the Lutherans; (3) suspension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction as between States; (4) of the fifty members of the Imperial Chamber, twenty-four to be Protestants, and six Protestants always to belong to the Aulic Council.
3. Constitutional Arrangements: (1) Every immediate State of the Empire possesses territorial supremacy within its own borders; (2) the territorial supremacy extends to ecclesiastical as well as civil and temporal matters; (3) every immediate State has a seat and vote in the Diet; (4) no law or interpretation of a law, no declaration of war involving the Empire, no peace or alliance of the Empire, no tax, levy, construction of fortresses, etc., can take place without the consent of the States in Diet assembled; (5) the imperial cities enjoy the same rights and privileges.
4. Effect on Europe: (1) The peace ends the supremacy of the House of Austria; (2) legalizes the Reformation in principle and in fact; and (3) establishes the doctrine of equilibrium as a principle of public law.



COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture IX.—THE SUPREMACY OF FRANCE.

1. The effect of the Peace of Westphalia was to curb the House of Austria and render France the first power in Europe.
2. Mazarin, in power 1642-1661, continues the policy of Richelieu.
3. France, aiming at universal monarchy, menaces Europe with empire.

I.—THE WORK OF MAZARIN.

1. His personality and character.
2. Completes the Thirty Years' War.
3. Hoping to obtain the Spanish Netherlands, he continues the war against Spain.
4. Opposition of the Fronde and troubles of Mazarin.
5. Signs the Treaty of Westminster with Cromwell (November 3, 1655), which becomes (March 23, 1657) the Treaty of Paris, an alliance with England against Spain, followed by telling victories.
6. At the death of Ferdinand III (April 2, 1657), Mazarin tries to secure the imperial crown for Louis XIV.
7. Obtains from Leopold, the new Emperor, a capitulation not to assist the enemies of France or Sweden. A definitive separation of the two branches of the House of Austria (June, 1658).
8. Formation of the League of the Rhine (August 14, 1658) to hold the Emperor in check.
9. Alliances formed against Spain in Italy.
10. Renouncing the cession of the Netherlands, Mazarin arranges the Peace of the Pyrenees (November 7, 1659), which includes: (1) the marriage of Louis XIV with

Maria-Theresa, of Spain; (2) a promised dowry of 500,000 ecus of gold, for the payment of which the right of the infanta to the royal succession is renounced; (3) the cession to France of a score of disputed towns in the Netherlands; (4) and of Roussillon and Cerdagne, making the Pyrenees the frontier between France and Spain; (5) France promises to render no aid to Portugal; (6) restitution of estates to the Prince of Condé and (in part) to the Duke of Lorraine; (7) amnesty of the Dukes of Savoy and Modena.

11. France preponderant in Europe.

II.—THE AMBITIONS OF LOUIS XIV.

1. Louis XIV, upon the death of Mazarin (1661), decides to be his own prime minister. Character of Louis. His plans.
2. The state of Europe :
 - (1) The Empire; (2) Spain; (3) England; (4) Sweden; (5) Holland; (6) Italy.
3. The foreign policy of Louis—(1) extension of France and (2) dismemberment of Spain. Talent and devotion of de Lionne.
4. Death of Philip IV (August 24, 1662) and claims of Louis XIV through Maria-Louisa.
5. The right of “devolution,” a civil custom of Brabant, and the right of “franc alleu,” a custom of Hainault.
6. War of Holland and England, position of France and mediation of Louis XIV, leading to the Treaty of Breda (July 31, 1667).
7. France prolongs the war between Spain and Portugal and prepares to occupy Brabant “pacifically” by the “right of devolution.” Three armies and a treatise.
8. England and the United Provinces (Holland) unite with Spain to preserve her from dismemberment by the Treaty of The Hague (January 23, 1668). *The system of equilibrium turned against France.*

9. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 2, 1668) the conquests of Louis are left to him, but his plans are checked.
10. Secret negotiations with the Emperor. Program: (1) The isolation and abasement of Holland; (2) cession of part of the Spanish Netherlands and colonies to France; (3) cession of certain Flemish ports and islands to England and aid to Charles II against the Protestants; (4) subsidies and friendship for the Emperor in exchange for neutrality; (5) subsidies to Sweden; (6) alliance with Brandenburg.
11. Holland offers concessions, but in vain; immense armament of France (1671); invasion of Holland (June, 1672); De Groot, fearing the annihilation of Holland, offers great concessions.
12. Awakening of Holland against the domination of Louis XIV, murder of the De Witts and leadership of the House of Orange (1672), whose head, William III, orders the dikes opened to save the country.

III.—THE DIPLOMACY OF WILLIAM III OF ORANGE.

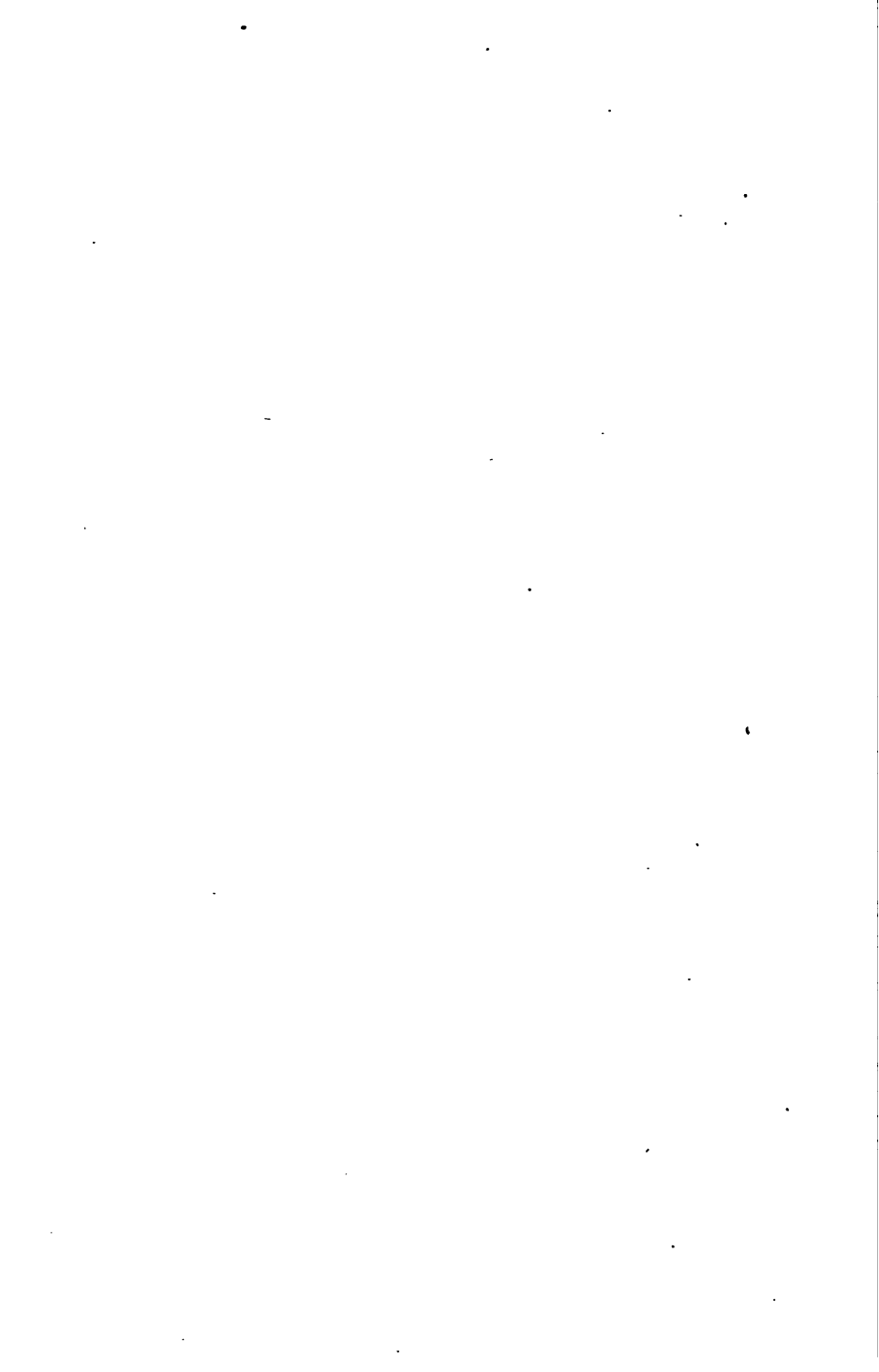
1. The House of Orange. Character and ambitions of William, a youth of 22 years.
2. William organizes a European coalition (Grand Alliance of The Hague) against the imperial pretensions of France (August 30, 1673): (1) the Emperor; (2) the King of Spain; (3) the Duke of Lorraine; (4) public opinion in England; (5) the patriotism of Holland. A work worthy of Richelieu. The greatest diplomatist of his age.
3. England paralyzes the success of Louis XIV by the Treaty of Westminster (February 19, 1674), which confirms the peace of Breda, and the French evacuate Holland, except Maestricht.
4. The war, however, continues between Holland and her allies and France during 1674-'77. In 1677 William III marries Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, Protestant heir to the throne of England. Alliance of Westminster (March 3, 1678) between Holland and England, which lasts till the American Revolution.

5. The Peace of Nimwegen: (1) Treaty between France and Holland (August 10, 1678); (2) Treaty between France and Spain (September 17, 1678); (3) Treaty between France, the Emperor, and the Empire (February 5, 1679); (4) Treaty between France, Sweden, the Emperor, and the Empire, as Article II of the preceding.
6. William opposed to the peace, because it yielded too much to Louis and compromised himself by deserting his allies prematurely. Louis makes the peace on his own terms, receiving large cessions of territory and a line of strongholds on the new frontier.
7. William turns to England for strength with which to cope with Louis. Creates a party there and awaits the future.

IV.—THE USURPATIONS OF LOUIS XIV.

1. His plans of pacific aggrandizement. The appeal to feudal law by Colbert de Croissy. The "reunions;" confiscation of territories not contemplated by the Peace of Nimwegen, but seized under legal pretexts (1680).
2. The Truce of Ratisbon (November 4, 1684), by which Louis retains most of his confiscated territories.
3. Louis grows arrogant. The Pope apologizes for an affront to his ambassador and Europe trembles before him.
4. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (October 22, 1685) arouses Holland, England, and Protestant Germany against Louis, and gives William III of Orange his opportunity.
5. Louis insults and offends the Pope by arresting his nonce.
6. William III becomes King of England (1688), forms a new Grand Alliance against Louis (1689): (1) Holland; (2) England; (3) the Emperor; (4) the Elector of Brandenburg, to which Spain, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Savoy and others adhere (1690.) Louis, in reply, aids James II to invade Ireland. Battle of the Boyne. Failure of the naval descent on England (1692).

7. Louis begins to show signs of wisdom and asks the mediation of Sweden (1693).
8. The Peace of Ryswick (September 20, 1697):
 - (1) The Treaty between France and Spain returns to Spain all the places taken by France since the Treaty of Nimwegen except 82, which are retained;
 - (2) By the Treaty between France and England, Louis recognizes William III as King of Great Britain and promises not to aid his enemies;
 - (3) By the Treaty between France and Holland, Pondichery, in India, is transferred to France, and a treaty of commerce is also concluded by which the Hollanders are exempted from the *droit d'aubaine* in France and in time of war the cargo of a free ship is exempted from seizure, unless contraband of war.
9. Result of the struggle: As France had defeated the ambition of the House of Austria, so Holland has defeated the ambitions of France.



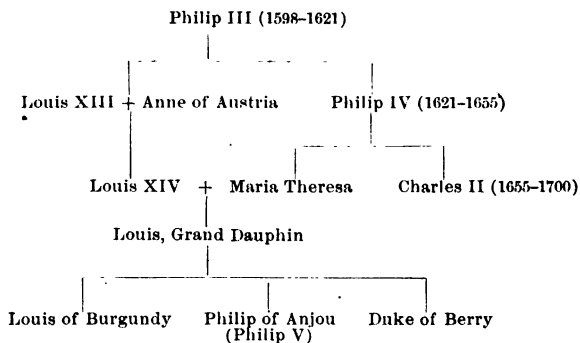
COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture X.—THE SPANISH SUCCESSION AND THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

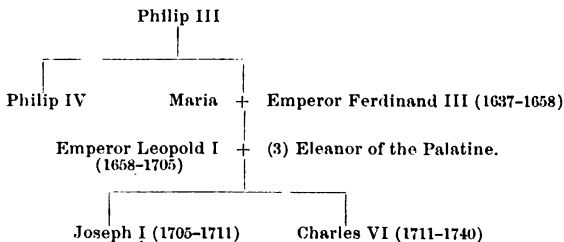
1. Charles II, son of Philip IV, becomes King of Spain in 1655.
2. Being without brother or descendant, the prospect of his death creates the problem of succession to the Spanish crown.
3. The accession of a French or Austrian prince threatens the restoration of empire.

I.—THE CLAIMANTS TO THE SPANISH CROWN.

1. The claims of FRANCE:



2. The claims of AUSTRIA:



- (3) Issues "letters patent" securing succession to the crown of France to Philip in case of his brother's death without an heir.
2. William III forms a coalition against him (September 7, 1701), based on an arrangement for the partition of Spanish possessions :
 - (1) Holland to have the Spanish Netherlands ;
 - (2) England to take the Spanish Indies ;
 - (3) The Emperor to have full satisfaction in Italy ;
 - (4) Denmark to receive an annual subsidy.
3. William III dies March 19, 1702, after having set in motion machinery for the defeat and humiliation of France.
4. England, Holland, Denmark, the Emperor, the Empire, Portugal, and Savoy unite in declaring war against France (1701-1703) to prevent the union of the French and Spanish crowns.
5. The ambition of Louis XIV has destroyed the equilibrium of Europe and imperiled the security of France.
6. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713).
7. In 1709 Louis proposes peace, offering to renounce the throne of Spain to the Archduke Charles, retaining for France Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Tuscany ; but Philip V, supported by Spain, demurs. When asked to force his son to renounce the throne, Louis breaks off negotiations, but resumes them in 1710, offering the neutrality of France and even a subsidy.
8. The sudden death of the Emperor Joseph (April 17, 1711) renders Charles VI, the future Emperor, less available as King of Spain than Philip V.

IV.—THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

1. Preliminary negotiations: (1) Mardyke and The Hague (1709) ; (2) Gertruydensberg (1710) ; (3) London (1711).
2. The Congress of Utrecht (January 29, 1712):
 - (1) The chief powers of Europe represented ;

- (2) Seven treaties negotiated ;
- (3) Secret negotiations between England and France.

3. Results of the Peace:

- (1) *For England*—recognition of the Protestant succession ; cession of Hudson's Bay, St. Christopher, Newfoundland, and Acadia ; treaties of navigation and commerce ; destruction of the forts at Dunkirk ; cession by Spain of Gibraltar and Minorca ; English monopoly of the slave trade (*Pacto del Asiento*) ;
- (2) *For Holland*—transfer of Spanish Netherlands to Austria as a barrier, with right of garrison, together with many towns taken by France ; a treaty of commerce ;
- (3) *For the Elector of Brandenburg*—recognition as King of Prussia ; cession of part of Gueldre ; recognition as independent prince of Neuchatel ;
- (4) *For the Duke of Savoy*—succession to the throne of Spain in default of heirs of Philip V ; cession of the Kingdom of Sicily and other territories ;
- (5) *France* confirms the renunciation of the crown of France by Philip V for himself and his heirs and the renunciation of the Spanish crown by the French princes, revokes the "letters patent" and makes it an "*inviolable law that the crowns of Spain and France shall never be united*" (April 11, 1713).

- 4. The war continues between France and the Empire, which is terminated by the Treaties of Rastadt (March 6, 1714) and Baden (September 6, 1714), in which the Emperor and the Empire confirm the Treaties of Westphalia, Nimwegen, and Ryswick, the Emperor succeeding to the Spanish Netherlands—certain barriers and restitutions being arranged—and southern Italy.

V.—EFFECTS OF THE PEACE ON EUROPE.

1. Upon imperial ambitions :

- (1) The union of either France or Austria with Spain is frustrated and Hapsburgs and Bourbons are balanced against each other ;

- (2) The Rhine becomes the boundary of France and Germany ;
- (3) Italy is neutralized by the Kingdom of Savoy ;
- (4) Holland is saved by the barrier of Austria ;
- (5) Prussia becomes a check to Austria, and the equilibrium of the continent is restored ;
- (6) England gains the dominion of the sea and colonial supremacy by preventing the union of France and Spain and the absorption of the Netherlands.

2. Upon public law :

- (1) The right of peoples to choose their kings is recognized ;
- (2) Dynastic right, held to be divine, is limited by the will of Europe ;
- (3) England's victory founds the right of intervention ;
- (4) The Treaty of Westphalia is confirmed and its principles are extended.

COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture XI.—THE RISE OF RUSSIA AND THE BATTLE FOR THE BALTIC.

1. The Treaties of Utrecht seemed to secure the internal peace of Europe by ending the dream of universal monarchy.
2. They opened, however, a period of dynastic diplomacy to preserve and enlarge the power of royal families.
3. While Europe was thus preoccupied new political forces came into the field destined to affect the future of the world.

I.—THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

1. The Turks in Europe :

- (1) Conquest of Constantinople (1453) ;
- (2) A camp of nomads rather than a state ;
- (3) A constant peril to the House of Austria ;
- (4) The contest for Hungary, whose crown became hereditary in the House of Austria in 1687 ;
- (5) The Turks definitely expelled from Hungary by the Peace of Carlowitz (1699) and the Peace of Passarowitz (1718).

2. Relations of the Ottoman Empire to France :

- (1) Alliance of Francis I with Soliman the Magnificent (1526) ;
- (2) Capitulations of the Sultan and development of French commerce ;
- (3) The capitulations, renewed in 1604 and 1673, rendered Turkey a kind of French colonial empire ;
- (4) Under the influence of European commerce and civilization a semi-oriental state is formed.

3. Influence of the Greek element :

- (1) The chief element of civilization in the East was the survival of Greek ideas and institutions ;

- (2) The Greek form of Christianity still existed within the Ottoman Empire, and Russia, which was created out of barbaric tribes by the Greek Church, was regarded as its natural protector;
- (3) The Russian rulers and ecclesiastics accepted the task of delivering Europe from the Turk.

II.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIA.

1. The beginnings of Russia: (1) The territory; (2) the people; (3) the conquest by the Norsemen under Rurik in the 9th century; (4) Christianization in the 10th century; (5) invasion of the Mongols, 13th century; (6) Ivan the Great expels the Mongols and establishes an absolute monarchy (1480); (7) Ivan IV, the Terrible, extends the boundaries to the Caspian Sea, and the "Grand Duke of Muscovy" becomes "Czar" (1533-1584); (8) Michael Romanoff founds the present House (1613).
2. The primitive condition of Russia. A vast interior plain, without seaports, commerce, arts, or military organization, ruled by despotic power through ecclesiastical influences.
3. The work of Peter the Great (1682-1725):
 - (1) Czar with Ivan 1682, becomes sole master 1689;
 - (2) Aims to expel the Turk and annex Constantinople, but sees the insufficiency of Russia;
 - (3) Resolves to give Russia ports on the south and on the north and to open the paths of commerce;
 - (4) Visits Holland and England (1697-1698) to learn ship-building and other arts;
 - (5) Introduces the arts, mechanics, and culture of Europe;
 - (6) Abolishes the patriarchate and makes himself the head of the church;
 - (7) Destroys the *Streltzi* and organizes a regular army;
 - (8) Forms a nobility to extend and support his policy.
4. The foreign policy of Peter:
 - (1) To give to Russia the commerce of the Baltic;
 - (2) To penetrate by conquest toward the center of Europe and make Russia a European power;

- (3) To build a marine on the Black Sea and push toward the Mediterranean ;
- (4) To expel the Turks from Europe and regain Constantinople when the time is ripe ;
- (5) The obstacles to Peter's ambitions : Sweden, Poland, and Turkey.

III.—THE STRUGGLE WITH SWEDEN.

1. The greatness of Sweden after 1648—a possible rival with France for the first place in Europe.
2. Sweden makes war a business. Accession of Charles XII, a youth of fifteen (1697). League of Denmark, Poland, and Russia against Sweden (1700).
3. Charles XII: (1) His character ; (2) the campaign of 1700 ; (3) defeats the King of Denmark, who signs the Peace of Traventhal (August, 1700) ; (4) defeats Peter the Great at Narva ; (5) defeats the King of Poland.
4. The condition of Poland :
 - (1) Vast extent of territory ;
 - (2) Political anarchy ;
 - (3) Independence and turbulence of the nobles ;
 - (4) An elective monarchy with a foreign king ;
 - (5) Poland exposed to plunder and dismemberment ;
 - (6) *Libertum veto*.
5. Charles XII resolves to force August II, Elector of Saxony, King of Poland, to resign his crown and attempts to conquer Poland (1701).
6. To weaken August II, Charles invades Saxony (1706), a part of the German Empire. August resigns the crown in favor of Stanislaus Lesczinski and Poland becomes a Swedish province.
7. Peter the Great, in the meantime, conquers the Baltic provinces—Ingria, Carelia, Livonia, Esthonia—founding his new capital, St. Petersburg (1703), on the Neva.
8. Charles XII advances on Moscow (1707), and his army is destroyed at Pultrava (July 8, 1709.) Charles escapes to Turkey, but Sweden is ruined.

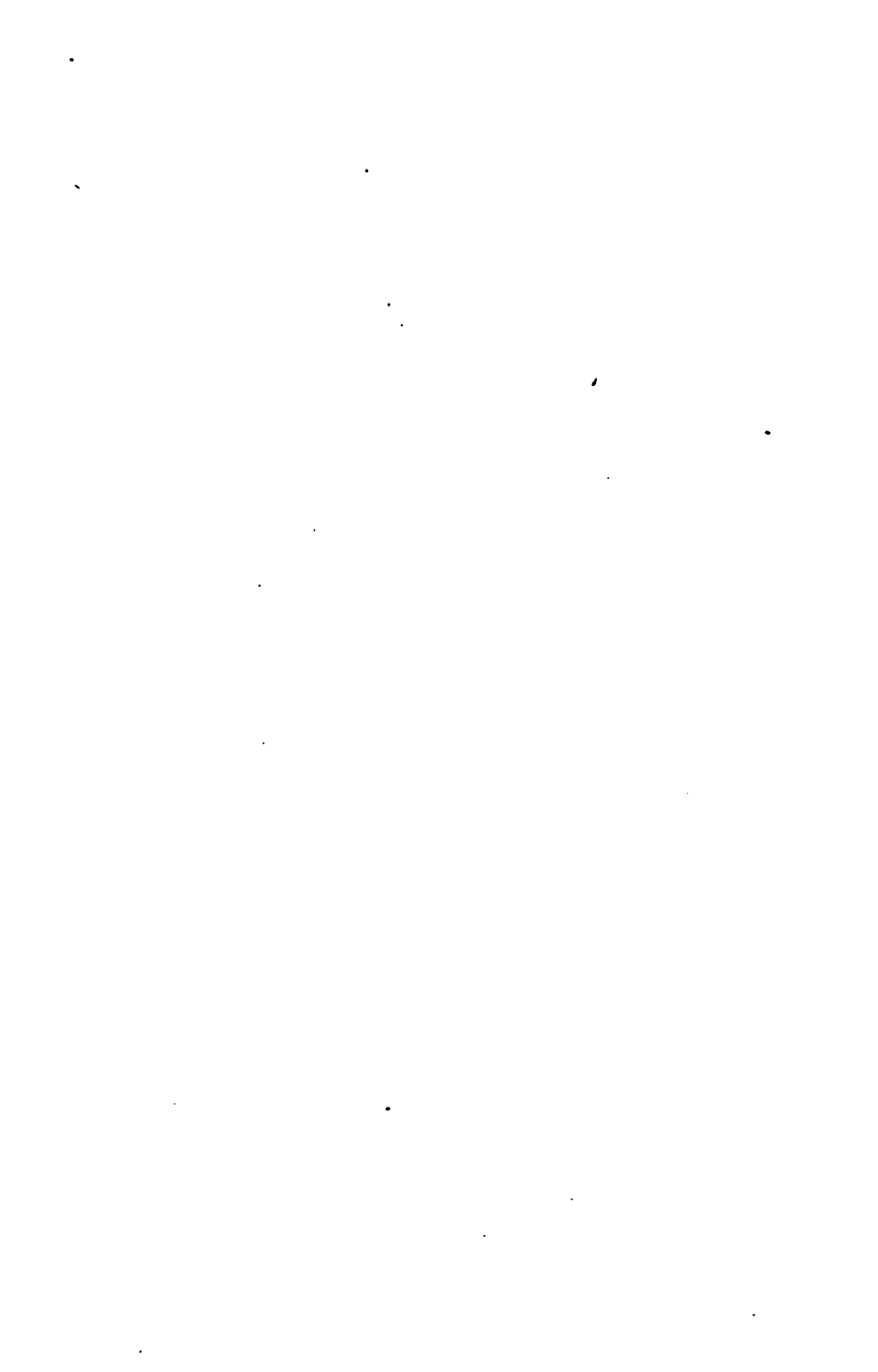
9. August II is reinstated as King of Poland, Peter the Great is master of the Baltic provinces and arbiter of Poland, while Charles fails to array Turkey against him. *Russia has entered European politics.*

IV.—THE RESISTANCE TO RUSSIA.

1. The greed of the German princes aids the ambitions of Russia :
 - (1) Frederick I of Prussia proposes to the Czar the partition of Poland and the dismemberment of Sweden ;
 - (2) The Elector of Hanover and the Duke of Mecklenburg join in the plan ; but Peter the Great sees the danger of excess and is satisfied with the Baltic provinces.
2. France fears the expansion of Russia and incites the Sultan to attack the Czar (1711), who is nearly destroyed, but saved by bribery of the Grand Vizier. Peace of Pruth (July 21, 1711).
3. Charles XII, expelled from Turkey, returns to Sweden (1714) to find the King of Prussia in possession of Pomerania, the Elector of Hanover in control of Bremen and Verden, and the Czar master of the Baltic, with his troops camped in Mecklenburg to attack Wismar.
4. The Elector of Saxony, helpless on the throne of Poland, appeals to Russia, the Czar sends him troops, and Poland becomes a Russian protectorate.
5. The Austrians seek to destroy the Ottoman Empire, and thereby leave Russia free to secure the Baltic and move toward the Black Sea.
6. The successes of Russia create alarm. George I of England, fearing for his electoral estates in Hanover and that the Baltic may become a Russian lake, forms a coalition of England, Hanover, Denmark, and the Emperor to restrain the growth of Russia (1716).
7. Peter the Great seeks an ally in France, but the Regent, having made engagements with England, declines an alliance (1717).

V.—THE TRIUMPH OF RUSSIA.

1. The policy of Baron de Goertz, Minister of Charles XII :
 - (1) Reconciliation with Russia and division of the Baltic ports ;
 - (2) Conquest of Norway from Denmark ;
 - (3) Recovery of lost territories in Germany ;
 - (4) Invasion of England in collusion with Spain (plan of Alberoni) and restoration of the Stuarts ;
 - (5) Substitution of Stanislaus Lesczinski for August II in Poland.
2. The Treaty of Amsterdam (August 4, 1717) effects an *entente* between the Czar, Louis XV, and Frederick-William I of Prussia.
3. The Conferences of Aland (1718) :
 - (1) Diplomacy of Goertz ;
 - (2) Pacific disposition of the Czar ;
 - (3) Death of Charles XII (December 11, 1718) ;
 - (4) Goertz decapitated ;
 - (5) Queen Ulrica-Eleanor continues negotiations, but they are fruitless.
4. The Czar invades Sweden (1719) and the war continues (1720-'21).
5. The Peace of Stockholm (1719-1720) gives to Prussia Stettin and part of Pomerania, to Hanover Bremen and Verdun, to Denmark Schleswig, and to England the free commerce of the Sound.
6. The Peace of Nystadt (January 30, 1721) gives Russia Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria Carelia, and the southern part of Finland.
7. Results :
 - (1) Sweden is reduced to impotence ;
 - (2) Poland is ruined ;
 - (3) Russia becomes a European power of imperial pretensions and the mistress of the Baltic.



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Lecture XII.—THE ERA OF FAMILY POLITICS.

1. While Russia becomes a European power, dynastic intrigues are rife in Europe.
2. The State System is established, but the period 1715–1748 is filled with schemes of succession.

I.—THE ROYAL AMBITIONS.

1. The possibilities of succession :
 - (1) The crown of France—Louis XIV, dying in 1715, leaves as heir a sickly great-grandson of 5 years, Louis XV ;
 - (2) The crown of England—Queen Anne, dying in 1714, a Jacobite rebellion in 1715 opposes the claims of the new king, George I, Elector of Hanover ;
 - (3) The imperial crown—the Emperor Charles VI having no male heir ;
 - (4) The crown of Poland—Stanislaus Leszczinski contests it with August II, Elector of Saxony ;
 - (5) The eventual succession of the duchies of Parma and Plaisance.
2. The aspirants :
 - (1) Philip V of Spain and the Duke of Orleans (Regent) aspire to the crown of France ;
 - (2) The English Pretender, James Edward, son of James II, aspires to the crown of England ;
 - (3) A number of contestants for the imperial crown and the estates of Austria ;
 - (4) Elizabeth Farnese, second wife of Philip V, covets the Italian duchies for her son.

II.—THE SCHEMES OF DUBOIS AND ALBERONI.

1. Relations of Dubois and Stanhope :
 - (1) Dubois the friend of the Duke of Orleans ;
 - (2) Stanhope the agent of George I ;

- (3) The transaction at The Hague ;
- (4) The Triple Alliance (January 4, 1717).

2. The plans of Alberoni :

- (1) Elizabeth Farnese made Queen of Spain ;
- (2) Desires to secure a crown for her son in Italy ;
- (3) Hopes to place Philip V on the throne of France ;
- (4) Efforts to create a coalition against the Emperor, England, and the Duke of Orleans.

3. The Quadruple Alliance :

- (1) The Emperor excited by the operations of Alberoni ;
- (2) The Quadruple Alliance formed (August 2, 1718) ;
- (3) Accession of Holland (February 16, 1719) ;
- (4) Attack on Spain ;
- (5) Philip V yields to the combination (January 26, 1720) and Alberoni is disgraced.

III.—REAPPEARANCE OF THE IMPERIAL PHANTOM.

1. The first Treaty of Vienna :

- (1) Philip V—indignant at the rejection of the Infanta, affianced to Louis XV, and the marriage of the latter to Maria Leszczinski—sends Ripperda to the Emperor ;
- (2) The Emperor renounces Spain ; Parma, Plaisance, and Tuscany are confirmed to Don Carlos, and Philip V guarantees the Pragmatic Sanction ;
- (3) The belief in a *secret article*, arranging the marriage of Don Carlos with Maria Theresa, terrifies Europe.

2. The Alliance of Hanover :

- (1) France, England, and Prussia form a coalition against the Vienna transaction (September 3, 1725) ;
- (2) The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark accede to this league (1726-1727).

3. To avert war, the Congress of Soissons (1729) is arranged, but is rendered fruitless by the Treaty of Seville (November 9, 1729), by which Cardinal Fleury detaches Spain

from the Emperor and unites Spain, France, and England, and afterward Holland, to secure Don Carlos in his Italian expectations.

4. Spain, impatient with Fleury, negotiates the second Treaty of Vienna (March 16, 1731) with the Emperor, England, and Holland, abandoning France, confirming Don Carlos in his Italian expectations, and guaranteeing the Pragmatic Sanction. The States of the Empire ratify this arrangement (February 20, 1732), and the peace of Europe seems assured.

IV.—THE POLISH SUCCESSION.

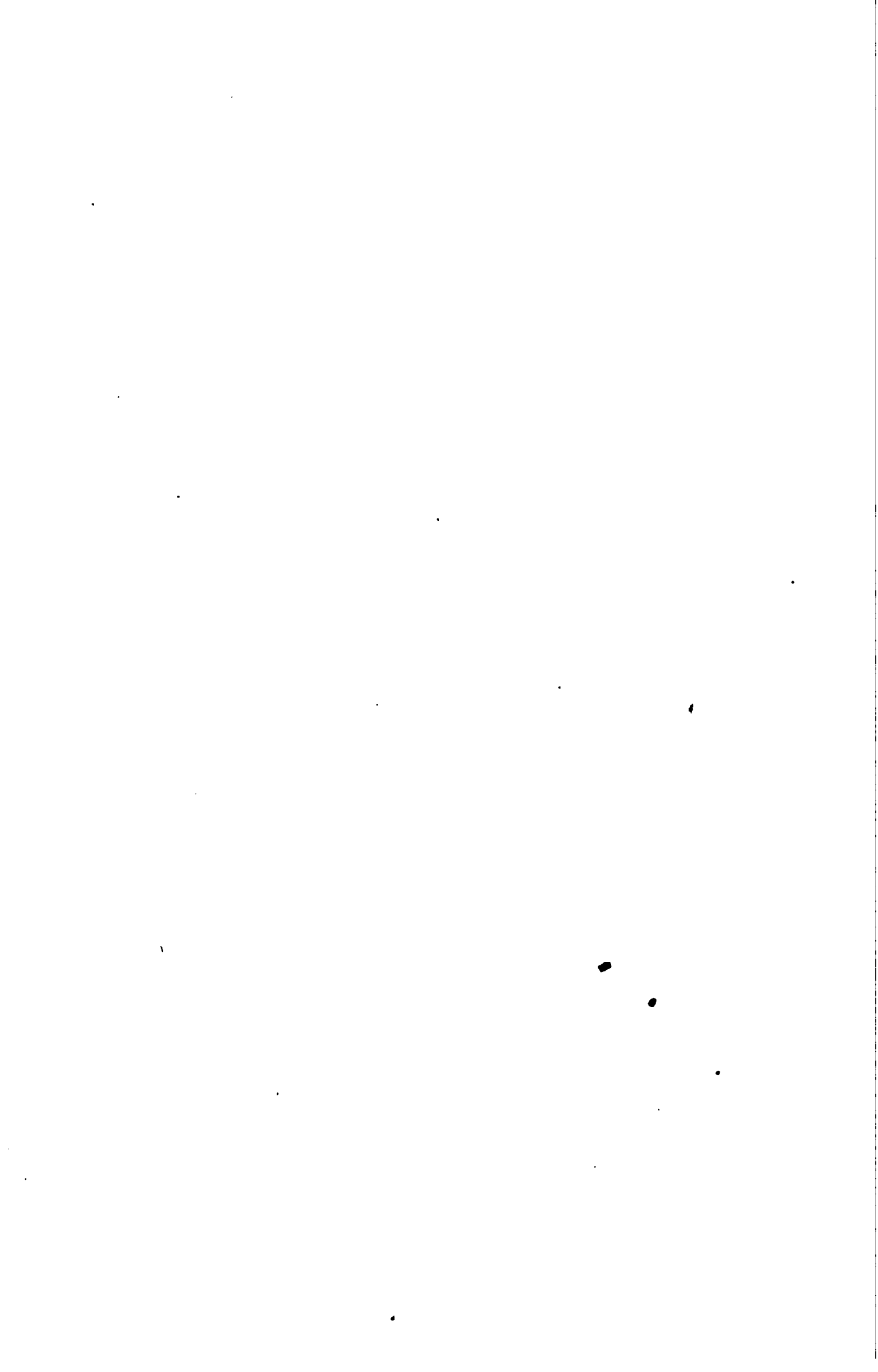
1. The death of August II, King of Poland (1733), opens the question of the Polish succession.
2. Stanislaus Lesczinski, father-in-law of Louis XV, aspires to restoration, but August III, the new Elector of Saxony and husband of Maria Josephine, an heir to the Austrian crown, is sustained by the Emperor in the interest of the Pragmatic Sanction, by Russia in the interests of its influence over Poland, and by Prussia in the Convention of St. Petersburg (July, 1733).
3. Notwithstanding this protection of August III, the elections give the throne to Stanislaus Lesczinski, but a part of the electors proclaim August III king, and Stanislaus, miserably supported by France, is obliged to flee (October 5, 1733).
4. France, offended with the Emperor, and Spain, coveting the throne of Naples for Don Carlos, acting under the inspiration of Elizabeth Farnese, form an alliance (October 25, 1737) and make war on the Emperor.
5. The third Treaty of Vienna (November 18, 1738) concludes this struggle as follows :
 - (1) Stanislaus Lesczinski abdicates the throne of Poland and receives in exchange Lorraine and the duchy of Bar, with eventual reversion to France ;
 - (2) Francis, husband of Maria Theresa, is declared the heir of Tuscany, and Parma and Plaisance are ceded to the Emperor, Charles VI ;

- (3) The Emperor cedes Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy, who becomes King of Sardinia, in exchange for the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, ceded to Don Carlos, son of Philip V ;
- (4) The Pragmatic Sanction is recognized and guaranteed by France.

V.—THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

1. The death of the Emperor, Charles VI (October 20, 1740), opens the question of the Austrian succession and of the Imperial crown.
2. All the powers have now recognized the Pragmatic Sanction, fixing the succession on Maria Theresa, but this recognition is nugatory.
3. The five pretenders to the Austrian possessions : (1) Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, husband of the second daughter of the former Emperor Joseph I ; (2) August III, Elector of Saxony, husband of the eldest daughter of Joseph I, who renounced his claim to become King of Poland ; (3) Philip V of Spain claims Bohemia and Hungary in virtue of an ancient compact (1617), by which the Emperor Ferdinand II promised these possessions to the descendants of Philip III in default of male heirs ; (4) the King of Sardinia claims the duchy of Milan by an ancient marriage contract ; (5) Frederick II of Prussia claims parts of Silesia. The dismemberment of Austria is threatened.
4. The Alliance of Nymphenburg (May, 18, 1741) unites France, in opposition to Fleury, with Spain, Sardinia, Prussia, and the Electors of Bavaria, Saxony, Cologne, and the Palatine against Maria Theresa.
5. The fidelity of Hungary and an alliance with England, Poland, Russia and Holland by the Treaty of Hanover (June 24, 1741) enable her to resist.
6. By the Treaty of Breslau (June 11, 1742) Maria Theresa makes peace temporarily with Prussia by abandoning Silesia, but Frederick II soon resumes the war.

7. The Elector of Bavaria becomes Emperor as Charles VII (1742); but, dying in January, 1745, his son surrenders his claims by the Treaty of Füssen (April 15, 1745), and Francis I, husband of Maria Theresa, becomes Emperor.
8. By the Treaty of Dresden (December 25, 1745) Frederick II finally secures Silesia.
9. By an alliance with Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, Treaty of St. Petersburg (June 2, 1746), Maria Theresa brings a Russian army into the heart of Germany for her defense.
10. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (October 18, 1748) concludes the question of the Austrian succession:
 - (1) The great treaties—of Westphalia, Ryswick, Utrecht, etc.—are confirmed;
 - (2) France restores her conquests;
 - (3) Parma, Plaisance, and Guestdalla go to Don Philip of Spain;
 - (4) The Pragmatic Sanction is sustained;
 - (5) Silesia is guaranteed to Prussia.



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Lecture XIII.—THE RISE OF PRUSSIA AND THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

1. The decadence of the Empire is marked, after the Treaty of Utrecht, by the fact that two electors, both Protestants, Frederick William I of Brandenburg and George I of Hanover, have become Kings of Prussia and England respectively.
2. Here are the beginnings of two new imperial movements, that of Prussia on the continent and that of England on the sea.

I.—THE FORMATION OF PRUSSIA.

1. The Electoral March of Brandenburg.
2. Union with the Duchy of Prussia (1618).
3. Gradual accretion of territories under the Hohenzollerns.
4. Economies and military organization of Frederick William I (1713–1740).
5. Genius and policy of Frederick II, called The Great (1740–1786).
6. The claim to Silesia and seizure of the country (1741).
7. Frederick II, who thinks only of the interest of Prussia, finally deserts the alliance against Austria, when Silesia is abandoned to him by the Treaty of Dresden (December 25, 1745).

II.—THE AUSTRO-FRENCH ENTENTE AND THE SECRET DIPLOMACY OF LOUIS XV.

1. Austria recuperates her finances and reorganizes her army, in order to recover Silesia.

2. The diplomacy of Kaunitz :
 - (1) The annihilation of Prussia intended ;
 - (2) The alliance of Austria and France ;
 - (3) Excitation of France against England as a colonial rival.
3. The hereditary enmity of France for Austria leads to the secret diplomacy of Louis XV :
 - (1) The project of a French prince as king of Poland ;
 - (2) Madame de Pompadour and the Court of Saxony ;
 - (3) De Bernis, a creature of de Pompadour, foreign minister ;
 - (4) The Prince de Conti sacrificed to de Pompadour.
4. The Conferences of Babiolle (October, 1755).
5. The diplomacy of Saxony : (1) Hostility to Prussia ; (2) influence in France ; (3) coöperation with Austria ; (4) the Russian alliance.

III.—EUROPE ARRAYED AGAINST PRUSSIA.

1. The coalition against Prussia completed by the Treaty of Versailles (May 1, 1756), to which Russia accedes by the Convention of St. Petersburg (December 21, 1756).
2. Holland is frightened into neutrality.
3. Frederick II, aware of his danger, attacks Saxony, September, 1756.
4. The common peril cements the alliance of England, Hanover, and Prussia, January 11, 1757 :
 - (1) England pays one million pounds annually to Prussia ;
 - (2) Hanover furnishes 60,000 men against France ;
 - (3) Prussia to detach France from Austria, if possible, and no peace to be concluded without the consent of both powers.
5. Sweden joins the coalition by the Treaty of Stockholm (March 21, 1757) and the Elector Palatine soon afterward.

6. The battles of Rossbach (November 5, 1757) and Lissa (December 5, 1757) are decided victories for Prussia and greatly weaken the coalition.
7. Maria Theresa and Elizabeth of Russia renew their determination to crush Frederick II and restore Silesia (March 21, 1760), the intrigues of Catharine of Anhalt with the Russian chancellor, on the part of Prussia, having been terminated by his overthrow.

IV.—THE “PACTE DE FAMILLE” OF THE BOURBONS.

1. The House of Bourbon, possessing the thrones of France and Spain and of the Two Sicilies, consolidates its power by forming a compact of family alliance, signed at Paris, August 15, 1761.
2. This compact makes the following engagements:
 - (1) The enemy of either branch is to be considered as the enemy of both;
 - (2) Mutual guarantee of their possessions;
 - (3) Peace is to be made only with common consent;
 - (4) While every Bourbon prince is to enjoy the protection of the entire family, no other power is permitted to join this compact.
3. Europe is menaced anew by this secret treaty, but its contents are unknown.

V.—THE RESCUE OF PRUSSIA.

1. The united armies of Austria and Russia sweep over Silesia and Pomerania, reach the heart of Prussia, and finally the Russians enter Berlin (1761). Frederick II, shut up in Breslau, sees his kingdom about to be dismembered.
2. Elizabeth of Russia is suddenly succeeded by Peter III, a friend and admirer of Frederick II, and peace is signed between Russia and Prussia at St. Petersburg, May 5, 1762.
3. The Swedes also sign the Treaty of Hamburg (May 22, 1762).

4. The coalition against Prussia weakens and a definitive peace between France, Spain, England, and Portugal is signed in the Treaty of Paris (February 10, 1763), the provisions of which are decisive in the determination of the colonial struggle.
5. The definitive peace between Prussia and Austria arranged by the Treaty of Hubertsburg (February 15, 1763) stipulates:
 - (1) A general amnesty ;
 - (2) The renunciation by Austria of all the territories ceded by the earlier treaties to Prussia, with an indemnity for the damages done during the war ;
 - (3) Restoration of Silesia and the County of Glatz to Prussia ;
 - (4) Confirmation of the treaties of Breslau, Berlin, and Dresden.
6. In a secret article, the King of Prussia promises his vote to the Archduke Joseph of Austria in case of an imperial election.
7. Effect of the Seven Years' War on Europe :
 - (1) Territorial lines are practically restored, but Europe has lost 886,000 men ;
 - (2) France has lost 200,000 men, her navy, her credit, her commerce, and her best colonies ;
 - (3) Austria has gained nothing and definitively lost Silesia ;
 - (4) Prussia has gained great military reputation, asserted her rivalry with Austria, and enlarged her possessions, but at terrible cost ;
 - (5) England has established her colonial empire and her dominion of the sea.

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Lecture XIV.—THE STRUGGLE FOR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

1. The discovery of America by Columbus (1492), the finding of a new ocean route to India by Vasco da Gama (1498), and the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan (1519–1522) opened a new world to conquest.
2. Europe aspired to a world dominion, and the maritime nations began to dream of a colonial empire.
3. Spain and Portugal were the first contestants, and Pope Alexander VI divided the world between them by a line drawn north and south, first 100 leagues (1493), then 375 leagues (1506), west of the Azores. All the land to be discovered east of this line belonged to Portugal, all to be discovered west of it to Spain.

I.—THE EARLY COLONIAL MOVEMENTS.

1. The Spaniards acquired Mexico (1519), Peru (1532), and gradually spread over the West Indies and Central and South America. Their quest was gold.
2. The Portuguese established trading posts on the west coast of Africa, the East Indian Archipelago, and India, and took possession of Brazil (1532). Their ambition was trade.
3. The English were slow to enter the contest. They were aroused to activity by jealousy of Spain and Portugal, but John Cabot's voyages in search of a northwest passage to India were fruitless, except as they established a vague claim to the northeast coast of America. In the age of Elizabeth their rivals were exploited by a piratical warfare, and permanent colonies were not established until 1606 and later, under King James.

4. The French were even less enterprising than the English, but under Henry IV awoke to the fact that an empire was being divided (1589-1610). They settled a few feeble colonies in the St. Lawrence and Mississippi basins.
5. The Dutch began their colonial expansion after their independence of Spain (1575-1580), when Portugal had been temporarily absorbed by Spain, and endeavored to acquire Spanish and Portuguese trade and territory. This carried them into the Indian ocean, where their colonial interests still chiefly lie.
6. Results:
 - (1) The Mediterranean no longer the world's center;
 - (2) Venice falls into decay;
 - (3) The Atlantic becomes the thoroughfare of nations.

II.—COLONIAL EXPANSION OF ENGLAND.

1. The defeat of the Spanish Armada (July, 1588) brings England to a consciousness of her maritime genius and power. An age of great sailors—Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher.
2. Piracy on Spain, made a profession, prepares the way for commerce, and commerce leads to colonies: (1) East Indian Company chartered (1600); (2) Virginia and Plymouth Companies (1606).
3. The seventeenth century a period of colonial settlement and extension of trade. The American colonies formed (1606-1702).
4. Cromwell's Navigation Act (1651), ordaining the shipping of goods in English ships or ships belonging to the country of exportation. The Dutch declare war to preserve their commerce, but are defeated.
5. The Dutch wars with England over commerce and the colonies (1664-1674), and the cession to England of New Amsterdam, which becomes New York.
6. Coincidence of interests between England and Holland by the election of William III of Orange King of England (1688). Conquest of Ireland (1690).

7. Portugal becomes dependent upon England by the Methuen Treaty (December 27, 1703), which gives England: (1) Mastery of the entire Portuguese industry, and (2) admission to South America by the ports of Brazil. See the treaty in Martens, Recueil, tome VIII, p. 41.
8. War of the Spanish Succession: (1) Capture of Gibraltar (1704); (2) conquest of Minorca (1708).
9. Colonial import of the Peace of Utrecht (1713):
 - (1) *Concessions of France*: No commercial advantage for France to be sought in Spanish America; destruction of the port of Dunkirk; restitution of the Hudson's Bay region; cession of St. Christopher, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, reserving only fishing rights; a treaty of commerce and navigation granting most favored nation privileges; abolition of Louis XIV's ordinance of 1681, which made good prize of a ship bearing an enemy's goods.
 - (2) *Concessions of Spain*: Agreement not to sell to France or any other nation any territory or lordship in America; cession of the port and citadel of Gibraltar; cession of Minorca; exclusive grant of the slave trade, known as *el Pacto del Asiento*, for thirty years from May 1, 1713; abandonment of territory at the mouth of the River La Plata as a landing place for the negroes until sold; direct trade with Spanish colonies with one vessel of 500 tons.

III.—THE ASCENDENCY OF ENGLAND.

1. The diplomacy of England pursues commercial and colonial advantages, while continental Europe exhausts itself in strife: (1) The Emperor in seeking the crown of Spain; (2) France in the hope of overstepping the Pyrenees; (3) Spain in defending the claims of a foreign king; (4) Holland in a vain effort to annex the Austrian Netherlands. England alone lays the foundation of a veritable empire.

2. George I, guided by Stanhope, becomes the mediator and arbiter of Europe, playing the powers against one another (1716-1720). Triumph of England in the fall of Alberoni (1718) and destruction of the Spanish fleet (1719).
3. Pacific policy of Walpole and the new diplomacy of commerce: (1) Philip V attempts a French alliance against England (1720), but the Infanta is sent home and the Regent cultivates England (1723); (2) Philip, guided by Ripperda, successor to Alberoni, makes an alliance with the Emperor (first Treaty of Vienna, 1725), who had founded in 1722 an East India Company at Ostend; (3) Walpole wins away the Emperor by acceding to the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Emperor suspends the Ostend Company for seven years (1727); (4) yielding to the Spanish demand for the Italian duchies, Walpole conciliates Spain (second Treaty of Vienna, 1731), and the Emperor definitely abandons the Ostend Company; (5) during the peace the great manufacturing towns of England grow up, the colonies are augmented, and commerce is established; (6) all Europe shares in the benefits of the growing commerce.
4. Party passion in England, jealous of the Spanish commercial renaissance under Patino and the prosperity of France, forces war on Walpole. Incident of "Jenkins' ear" (1738).

IV.—THE DECISIVE BATTLE FOR COLONIAL SUPREMACY.

1. England, isolated, is at war with Spain and France (1740).
2. The problem of the Austrian Succession suddenly plunges all Europe into war to despoil the Hapsburgs (1741).
3. Fall of Walpole (1742) and sending of subsidies by England to Maria Theresa, while the English fleets sweep the seas and the King of France abandons his colonies.
4. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) arrests the war in Europe, but it continues between France and England in India and America (1750-1754), at Pondichery and in the Ohio valley.

5. Apathy of France, recall of Dupleix, and return of Clive to India (1754), which gives India to England.
6. Beginning of the Seven Years' War (1756), which preoccupies Europe while England wins the French colonies. The work of William Pitt.
7. The Peace of Paris (February 10, 1763) :
 - (1) England acquires all the French colonies in America except a few islands ;
 - (2) The Mississippi becomes the western frontier of the English possessions ;
 - (3) Louisiana is ceded to Spain in exchange for Florida, ceded to England ;
 - (4) Dunkirk is demolished ;
 - (5) France recovers her possessions in India only on condition of employing no forts or garrisons.
8. Captain Cook takes possession of New Zealand and Australia in the name of England (1768).

Laws (not fully repealed until 1849), which required that "goods sent to or from the United Kingdom to or from its possessions, or from one colony to another, must be carried in British ships, or in ships of the country in which they were produced and from which they were imported."

II.—THE STATE OF EUROPE IN 1776.

1. *Of England*: (1) The corruption of Parliament and the ambitions of George III; (2) the people of England averse to oppressing the colonists; (3) the subserviency of Lord North to the King; (4) the isolation of England; (5) the want of troops and the employment of mercenaries. Conventions of Cassel and Hannan (January and February, 1776).
2. *Of France*: (1) Choiseul, as prime minister (1763–1770) determined to humiliate England; (2) reorganization of army and navy; (3) Louis XVI becomes king (1774); (4) failure of French diplomacy under the ministry of d'Aiguillon (1771–1774); (5) the statesmanship of Vergennes.
3. *Of Spain*: (1) Bound to France by the *Pacte de Famille* (August 15, 1761); (2) loss of initiative and pacific policy of Charles III; (3) timidity regarding her colonies.
4. *Of Holland*: (1) The Commercial Treaty of 1674 and its restrictions on Dutch trade; (2) relation of the Stadholder with England; (3) the restlessness of the patriotic party in 1776.
5. *Of Austria*: (1) The declining influence of Kaunitz after the accession of Joseph II as Emperor (1765); (2) advantage of the French alliance in preserving the Austrian Netherlands and Italy from invasion; (3) Joseph II interested in the eastward extension of the Empire.
6. *Of Prussia*: (1) Reorganization of Prussia after the exhaustion of the Seven Years' War; (2) policy and economies of Frederick the Great; (3) friendship for Russia based on the alliance with Peter III (1762) and hopes of profit.

7. *Of Russia*: (1) Accession of Catharine II (1762) and confirmation of the alliance with Prussia (April 11, 1764); (2) intervention in the affairs of Poland in conjunction with Frederick II (1766); (3) war incited between Turkey and Russia by the diplomacy of Vergennes (1768); (4) Austria intervenes to secure her share of the eastern spoils (1770); (5) interview of Frederick II and Joseph II at Neustadt (September 3, 1770) and proposal to Catharine II of the partition of Poland by Prince Henry (January, 1771); (6) secret treaty against Russia between Austria and Turkey (July 6, 1771); (7) the First Partition of Poland (July 25, 1772); (8) the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (July 19, 1774), and end of the Russo-Turkish war.

III.—THE RECEPTION AND INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC AGENTS.

1. *In France*: (1) Silas Deane, sent to Paris as business agent (March, 1776), negotiates with French officers with little skill, makes no progress with the government, and is recalled (December, 1777); (2) Franklin elected commissioner to France (September 27, 1776) to join Deane and Arthur Lee; (3) favorable reception of Franklin in France; (4) subsidies obtained by Franklin; (5) enthusiasm of the young nobility and departure of Lafayette for America; (6) France tries to draw Spain into an alliance with the American Colonies (1777-1778); (7) the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga (October 17, 1777) determines France to conclude a Treaty of Commerce and a Treaty of Alliance with the American Congress (February 6, 1778); (8) war hardly expected, but soon begun (July, 1778).
2. *In Spain*: (1) Arthur Lee goes to Spain, but is repudiated by the Spanish Government (March, 1777); (2) succeeds in procuring some secret financial aid (May, 1777); (3) Spain, after much hesitation and attempts at mediation, joins France and declares war on England (June 16, 1779); (4) John Jay goes on a mission to Spain (September, 1779), but is received only informally (February 24, 1780).

3. *In Holland*: (1) Henry Laurens, appointed to negotiate a loan in Holland, having been captured during his voyage, John Adams is sent as minister (June 20, 1780), but refused recognition; (2) exasperated by the attacks on her commerce, Holland joins France and Spain in war on England (January, 1781); (3) Adams negotiates a Treaty of Commerce with Holland (October 8, 1782).
4. *In Prussia*: (1) Frederick II is the first to promise conditional recognition to the Colonies, but declines to receive a representative; (2) refuses to grant the use of a port; (3) prohibits the marching of mercenaries through his territories and threatens to tax them as cattle.
5. *In other Countries*: (1) Dana is not recognized in Russia; (2) Austria refuses to receive an envoy; (3) Izard never reaches Florence, whither he was sent.

IV.—THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION.

1. Death of Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria (December 30, 1777), opens the question of succession.
2. His heir, Charles Theodore, recognizes the Austrian claims (January 3, 1778).
3. Charles Augustus, Duke of Zweibrücken, withholds his ratification and appeals to France and Prussia (May, 1778).
4. Show of hostilities and Treaty of Teschen (May 13, 1779), by which (1) Austria restores the lands seized from Bavaria; (2) the expectation of Anspach and Baireuth is conceded to Brandenburg; (3) Charles Theodore cedes the "quarter of the Inn" to Austria; (4) Russia, as mediator, obtains the right to interfere in the affairs of Germany.

V.—THE ARMED NEUTRALITY OF THE NORTH.

1. Diplomacy of Sir James Harris at St. Petersburg.
2. England's maritime aggressions resented by Catharine II.
3. Declarations of the Armed Neutrality (February, 1780):
 - (1) Neuter ships may navigate freely from port to port on the coasts of belligerents;

- (2) Free ships make free goods, except contraband of war;
- (3) A blockade must be effective in order to be real.
- 4. Accessions: (1) Sweden (July, 1780); (2) Denmark (August, 1780); (3) Holland (January, 1781); (4) Prussia (May, 1781); (5) Austria (October, 1781); (6) Portugal (July, 1782); (7) the two Sicilies (February, 1783).
- 5. England, at war with France, Spain, Holland, and America, is menaced by all the chief powers of Europe.

VI.—THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES.

- 1. Vergennes opposes the American conquest of Canada.
- 2. Shelburne becomes prime minister of England (July 1, 1782).
- 3. The preliminaries of peace signed by England and the United States (November 30, 1782).
- 4. Preliminaries of peace between England, France, and Spain signed (January 20, 1783).
- 5. The Peace of Versailles signed (September 3, 1783).
- 6. Peace between England and Holland (May 20, 1784).

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Lecture XVI.—THE SCHEMES OF AGGRANDIZEMENT BY RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA.

1. The First Partition of Poland stimulates the territorial ambitions of Russia, Austria, and Prussia.
2. The preoccupations and economic exhaustion of England and France leave the powers of eastern Europe free to follow their own interests.
3. With Austria and Prussia mutually distrustful, Russia becomes for the time the most important State in Europe.

I.—THE ALLIANCE OF RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA.

1. Character and policy of Catharine II :

- (1) German origin of Catharine; (2) Russia sent to school to Europe; (3) reforms of Catharine; (4) influence of Panin and the Prussian alliance (1764-1779); (5) rise of Potemkin, renewal of designs on Turkey and abandonment of Prussia.

2. Character and plans of Joseph II :

- (1) Joseph becomes Emperor, 1765; (2) the death of Maria Theresa (November 29, 1780) gives him complete authority; (3) the typical benevolent despot; (4) his administrative revolution; (5) his incoherent States to be consolidated and Germanized; (6) "Josephism," the Edict of Toleration (October 13, 1781), and the opposition of the Church.

3. Meeting of the Emperor and the Czarina at Mohilev and visit of the Emperor to St. Petersburg (1780).

4. Alliance between Catharine II and Joseph II arranged by letters (June, 1781).

5. Motives of the arrangement: (1) On Catharine's part, the connivance of Austria at Russia's designs on Turkey; (2) on Joseph's part, Russia's assistance in his scheme to annex Bavaria and permission to obtain Bosnia and Servia.

II.—THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING TURKEY.

1. The Czarina's project (September 10, 1782): (1) The formation of an independent hereditary monarchy of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia, under the Greek religion; (2) the expulsion of the Turk from Constantinople and the re-establishment of the ancient Byzantine Empire, with her grandson, Constantine, as Emperor; (3) for Russia, Ochákov, the territory between the Boug and the Dneister, and an island or two in the Archipelago; (4) compensation for Austria in Italy.
2. The counter-project of Joseph II (November 12, 1782). He consents to the partition, but demands for Austria: (1) Part of Wallachia, all of Bosnia, and a portion of Servia; (2) Venice and her Italian possessions; (3) Istria and Dalmatia. In order to obtain the approval of France and Prussia, he proposes that Egypt be given to France and a part of Poland to Prussia.
3. Catharine, displeased with the extent of Joseph's demands, hesitates to conclude a partition; Joseph, averse to a Russian occupation of Constantinople, qualifies his assent by the condition that it is binding only in case Turkey begins a war.
4. Resolved to obtain some satisfaction, the Czarina announces the annexation of the Crimea (April 8, 1783), which the Sultan acknowledges by the Treaty of Constantinople (January 6, 1784).
5. Joseph wishes compensation, but Vergennes, who has hastened the peace with England in order that France may prevent the dismemberment of Turkey, will not accept Egypt as the price of partition and dissuades Joseph from his plans. By subsidizing Gustavus III, he creates a counterpoise to Russia's schemes through fear of war with Sweden. (Alliance of France and Sweden, July 19, 1784.)

III.—THE EMPEROR'S MOVEMENTS FOR EXPANSION.

1. Against Holland: (1) Taking advantage of Holland's troubles with England (January, 1782), Joseph II destroys the "barriers" erected by the treaties of 1715 and 1718; (2) he next demands the evacuation of Maestricht and

certain villages and the payment of certain indemnities by Holland (April, 1784); (3) finally, he issues an *ultimatum*, demanding the opening of the Escaut to free navigation and direct commerce with the Indies (August 23, 1784); (4) the Dutch prepare a stout resistance, the King of France offers his mediation, and the Treaty of Fontainebleau (November 8, 1784) settles the dispute, by which Joseph renounces his pretensions to the freedom of the Escaut, but obtains two forts and prevents the interdiction of trade with the Indies to his subjects, which Charles VI had permitted in 1739.

2. Against Bavaria: (1) Joseph II offers to Charles Theodore, elector and sovereign of Bavaria, the Spanish Netherlands in exchange for his hereditary States, giving him eight days for a decision and threatening to despoil him by force if he does not accede (January, 1785); (2) Frederick II, learning of the scheme, appeals to France and Russia to sustain the Treaty of Teschen and preserve the Constitution of the Empire; (3) Joseph II, though sustained by Russia, abandons his purpose; (4) Frederick II combines the smaller German princes—Saxony, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Saxe-Weimar and Gotha, Zweibrücken and Mecklenburg, Hesse-Cassel, Osnabrück, Anhalt, Baden, Maintz, and others—into the Fürstenbund, to preserve the Germanic liberties (July, 1785), and dies a year later (August 17, 1786).

IV.—REVIVAL OF THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN PLANS.

1. Catharine intrigues against Turkey in Egypt, Greece, Moldavia, and elsewhere (1786).
2. She undertakes a journey to the Crimea (January, 1787), visiting the King of Poland *en route*, and is joined by Joseph II. The alliance revived and the Greek Empire again proposed. Russian navy on the Black Sea.
3. The "commercial frontiers" of the maritime powers now in danger: (1) Vergennes urges France to preserve the Ottoman Empire, but dies February 13, 1787; (2) Pitt wishes to restrain Russia by supporting Turkey, but is feebly sustained by the British public, who do not yet

comprehend the issue; (3) the other maritime powers fear entanglements; (4) the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire appears imminent.

4. The Sultan, urged by England, declares war on Russia (July 26, 1787); Catharine accepts the conflict and Joseph II joins her (February 9, 1788). The doom of Turkey seems certain.

V.—THE RESCUE OF TURKEY.

1. Under the indecisive rule of Montmorin, successor of Vergennes, France remains neutral.
2. England, fearing for her commerce in the Mediterranean and the Baltic, if Russia triumphs, stimulates the Turks and subsidizes Gustavus III of Sweden to strike Russia upon the north.
3. Prussia, jealous of both Russia and Austria, excites revolt in Poland to invite the attention of Russia there. Frederick William II forms an alliance with Poland (February, 1790).
4. Joseph II, reduced to the defense of Hungary, with the Netherlands, Bohemia, and Galicia in revolt, dies (February 20, 1790).
5. The Triple Alliance—England, Prussia, and Holland—while united in opposition to Russia, disengages the new Emperor Leopold from the Russian alliance by the Convention of Reichenbach (July 27, 1790), and peace between Austria and Turkey is made by the Treaty of Sistova (August 24, 1791), after nearly a year of truce.
6. Russia, having signed the Peace of Verela (August 15, 1790) with Sweden, concludes the Treaty of Jassy (January 4, 1791) with Turkey.
7. Results: (1) Catharine has failed in her great schemes of destroying the Ottoman and creating a Greek Empire, but the power of Russia is evinced; (2) Prussia has lost the primacy of Germany by the death of Frederick II; (3) Austria has regained her leadership under Leopold II, who reorganizes his Empire.

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Lecture XVII.—THE REPUBLICAN PROPAGANDA AND ITS RESULTS.

1. The sympathy of Europe during the American Revolution was with the colonists, partly on account of the general hostility to England and partly because of the political principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence.
2. No European nation enjoyed a written constitution, and the American example excited universal interest.
3. The literature of the time widely diffused republican principles, but existing institutions prevented their practical adoption.

I.—THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN HOLLAND.

1. Organization of the Dutch Republic: (1) The States-General; (2) the powers of the Stadtholder; (3) the growth of executive authority.
2. The opposition of parties: (1) The party of the Stadtholder, William V; (2) the party of the Patriots; (3) the effect of the war with England on party sentiments.
3. The influence of American doctrine: (1) Van der Capellen and his adherents (December, 1775); (2) Van der Kemp's republican pamphlet (October 17, 1781); (3) the success of America a stimulus to the Dutch republic.
4. The French influence and policy: (1) De la Vauguyon sent to the Hague (1776); (2) political purposes of France; (3) military and commercial alliance of France and Holland (November 11, 1785); (4) predominance of French influence and dominance of the Patriots, by which the Stadtholder is stripped of power (July, 1786).
5. The battle of diplomacy for the Dutch alliance: (1) Sir James Harris sent to Holland (December, 1784); (2) concil-

iatory missions of Goertz and Rayneval (September, 1786); (3) arrest of the Princess Wilhelmina (June, 1787), the Patriot revolution, and the intervention of the King of Prussia with an armed force (September, 1787); (4) suppression of the Patriots, their expulsion and the re-establishment of the Stadtholder's power; (5) the French, under Montmorin's weak policy, offer no resistance.

6. The Triple Alliance between England, Prussia, and Holland (April 15, 1788).
7. The republican party is destroyed, and the Stadtholder becomes in effect the monarch of Holland.

II.—THE BELGIAN REVOLUTION.

1. In the execution of his sweeping reforms the Emperor Joseph II reconstructs the government of the Austrian Netherlands (January, 1787).
2. The States of Brabant resent the new order by refusing to vote the annual subsidies (April 17, 1787).
3. Austrian troops sent to compel obedience (June 24, 1787).
4. The States of Belgium join in the revolt, and the Emperor revokes their liberties (January 7, 1789).
5. An armed conflict ensues, and the Patriots resist the imperial troops (October 27, 1789).
6. Brabant declares its independence (December 13, 1789) and is joined by other provinces, establishing a congress at Brussels (January 7, 1790).
7. The discords of the aristocratic and the democratic parties weaken the revolution, Joseph II dies (February 20, 1790), the Triple Alliance mediates between Leopold II and the Congress, and a peace is arranged (December, 1790), by which the old order is restored, and the sovereignty is guaranteed to the Emperor by the Alliance.
8. The revolt is renewed, owing to the pertinacity of the democratic party, led by von Vonck, and the obstinacy of Leopold II, who dies March 1, 1792.

9. Under Francis II a French invasion places the country under the control of France.

III.—THE REVOLUTIONARY PROVOCATIONS OF FRANCE.

1. France has obtained from the United States the idea of a written constitution, and the States-General are convened May 5, 1789, for the first time since 1614.
2. The principles adopted by the Constituent Assembly raise the question, Who has the right to make war and peace?
 - (1) The affair of Nootka Sound (May, 1790);
 - (2) The fate of the *Pacte de Famille*;
 - (3) The question of treaty obligations;
 - (4) The effect of the abolition of feudalism on the Alsatian fiefs.
3. The Constitution of 1791, which places the people above the King, is regarded as a menace to every monarch in Europe.
4. The flight of Louis XVI to Varennes (June 21, 1791), his capture and return to Paris.
5. The Emperor Leopold issues the Manifesto of Padua (July 6, 1791), inviting the sovereigns to join him in making the King's cause their own.
6. The Declaration of Pilnitz (August 27, 1791), signed by the Emperor and the King of Prussia to frighten France.
7. France, exasperated, wishes for war; declared by the Legislative Assembly April 20, 1792; Louis XVI dismisses his ministers when they insist on his signing the decree, and the people invade the Tuileries.
8. The Declaration of the Duke of Brunswick, holding the people of Paris responsible for the King's safety, leads to open insurrection (August 10, 1792) and the King's suspension and imprisonment.
9. France is declared a republic by the National Convention (September 20, 1792) on the day of the battle of Valmy, won by the French.

10. Encouraged by the speedy conquest of Savoy, Nice, and Belgium, the Convention sends missionaries of "the Rights of Man and the Sovereignty of the People" into all the countries of Europe and begins "the war of the people against all kings" (November 19, 1792).

IV.—FRANCE AT WAR WITH EUROPE.

1. Belgium, the Rhine provinces, Savoy, and Nice welcome the French armies as liberators, and these territories are declared a part of France (December 9–13, 1792).
2. Louis XVI, tried and convicted of treason, is executed (January 21, 1793), giving a pretext to Spain, Holland, and England to unite with Austria and Prussia against France, which promptly accepts the challenge (February 1, 1793).
3. Sweden, Denmark, and Venice declare their neutrality, but Portugal, Tuscany, the Two Sicilies, and the Empire are arrayed against France before the end of March, 1793.
4. Russia takes occasion to consummate the second partition of Poland, with the coöperation of Prussia (January 4, 1793), Austria being too much preoccupied to claim her share. March 25, 1793, Russia joins England in the coalition against France.
5. The annexation of Belgium frightens Holland, which repels the invasion of Dumouriez. His defeat at Neerwinden (March 21, 1793), followed by his resistance of the Convention and his desertion to Austria, together with the civil war in the Vendée, reveals three facts to France:
 - (1) The failure of the republican propaganda;
 - (2) The desperate circumstances of the republic; and
 - (3) The necessity of a strong government.
6. The Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris and the Reign of Terror are the bloody instruments designed to save France from destruction.

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Lecture XVIII.—THE ASCENDENCY OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

1. The brilliancy of French victories in the field in this period has caused the successes of diplomacy to be overlooked.
2. The work of Barthélemy in Switzerland.

I.—SUBSIDENCE OF THE SPIRIT OF CONQUEST IN FRANCE.

1. The report of the Committee of Public Safety, declaring that the Republic desires peace (December 4, 1794), marks the abandonment by France of the propaganda against monarchy.
2. The conquest of Holland (January, 1795) without annexation and the organization of an independent Batavian Republic indicate a more pacific disposition on the part of France.
3. The final partition of Poland by Russia, Prussia, and Austria (November, 1795) diverts their attention in part from France; Spain is weary of war, and England alone is disposed to continue its chastisement of the French Republic.
4. The Batavian Republic is recognized by France, and the Treaty of The Hague (May 16, 1795) creates an alliance between the two republics:
 - (1) The house of Orange is stripped of its property;
 - (2) Holland pays an indemnity of a hundred million florins to France;
 - (3) The Escant, the Rhine, and the Meuse are opened to free navigation.

II.—THE TREATIES OF BASEL.

1. The disorganization of the coalition against France begins with the treaties negotiated by Barthélemy at Basel.
2. Prussia, resenting England's failure to pay the subsidies agreed upon because Frederick William II has withdrawn his troops beyond the Rhine and has not defended Holland, signs a treaty of peace with France at Basel (April

5, 1795): (1) Prussia promises to furnish no aid against the French Republic; (2) the French troops are to continue to occupy Prussian soil beyond the Rhine till a general peace is made; (3) the King of Prussia offers his good offices with the princes of the Empire who desire to treat with France.

3. Following up a series of brilliant victories in the field, France makes peace with Spain in the Treaty of Basel (July 22, 1795): (1) the Republic is recognized by Spain; (2) commercial relations are reestablished; (3) the good offices of Spain are accepted for mediation with the Kings of Naples (the Two Sicilies), Sardinia, Portugal, and the Duke of Parma.
4. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel accepts the good offices of Prussia and signs a peace (August 28, 1795): (1) the Landgrave renounces his English subsidies; (2) France continues to occupy the fortress of Rhinefels and some other posts.
5. France now occupies Belgium, has an alliance with Holland, and is at peace with Prussia and Spain.

III.—ENGLAND REANIMATES THE COALITION.

1. England, alarmed at the situation, has sought a new alliance with Russia in the Treaty of St. Petersburg (February 18, 1795): (1) England agrees to furnish the provision and transportation, in case of traversing a foreign territory, of the Russian army; (2) Russia agrees to defend England against attack by a foreign power.
2. England also strengthens her relations with Austria in the Treaty of Vienna (May 4, 1795): (1) guarantees an Austrian loan of nearly five million pounds sterling; (2) the Emperor engages to maintain 200,000 troops; (3) by a later arrangement Russia is to be invited to join England and Austria in a triple alliance. This is effected September 28, 1795.

IV.—THE PACIFIC DIPLOMACY OF FRANCE.

1. The forces employed by France in Spain being turned into Italy, the King of Sardinia makes peace by the Treaty of

Paris (May 15, 1796): (1) Savoy and Nice are ceded to France; (2) the French emigrants are expelled from Sardinian territory; (3) the artillery and munitions found in the places occupied may be used by the French troops; (4) free passage of troops is granted in the States of Sardinia. These concessions are followed by the battle of Lodi, and deliver Lombardy, except Mantua, to Bonaparte.

2. Treaties with Naples (October 11, 1796), Genoa (October 9, 1796), Parma (November 5, 1796) soon follow the success of Bonaparte in Italy, and several princes of the Empire, Würtemberg, Baden, etc., are detached from the coalition.
3. A new treaty of neutrality is concluded with Prussia (August 5, 1796), by which her territories become an effective barrier for France and Holland on the north, and, in a secret treaty, Prussia agrees not to oppose the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France at the conclusion of peace, if assured the bishopric of Munster and the country of Recklinghausen, with compensation to Hesse, etc. The Elector of Saxony accepts the treaty of neutrality.
4. By the treaty of San Ildefonso France makes an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain (August 19, 1796) effective in the present war only against England. A French fleet with 20,000 men is sent against Ireland, but fails. The English win Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent from France and Ceylon from Holland.
5. The Pope signs the Treaty of Tolentino (February 19, 1797): (1) closing his ports to the enemies of France; (2) ceding Avignon, Venaissin, Bologna, Ravenna, and Ferrara; (3) Holland is included in the peace.
6. France and Sardinia form an offensive and defensive alliance, Treaty of Turin (April 8, 1797), the latter reserving neutrality as to England.
7. The Preliminaries of Leoben (April 28, 1797) practically conclude the war with Austria, the Emperor recognizing the Rhine as the frontier of France and giving up the Milanese in exchange for Venice. Bonaparte has gathered the fruits of his victories and is appointed the plenipotentiary of the French Republic to conclude a treaty with Austria.

8. Portugal makes peace with France, under a menace from Spain (August 20, 1797), and, in spite of an English fleet, ratifies the treaty.

V.—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REPUBLICS.

1. Bonaparte, avoiding the annexation to France of his Italian conquests, sets up republican governments: (1) Genoa and the surrounding districts become the Ligurian Republic; (2) Lombardy, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna, etc., the Cisalpine Republic.
2. Belgium, incorporated with France, the Batavian Republic (Holland), the Helvetian Republic, created in Switzerland by the interference of France (April, 1798), with the Roman Republic, created at Rome (February, 1798), and the Parthenopean Republic, established at Naples (January, 1799), seem to augur a republican regime in Europe.

VI.—THE TREATY OF CAMPO-FORMIO.

1. The peace made by Bonaparte between France and the Emperor is signed at Campo-Formio October 17, 1797, following the preliminaries of Leoben, and provide for: (1) the cession of the Austrian Netherlands and the Venetian islands, Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, etc., to France; (2) the cession of Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, and the Adriatic islands to Austria; (3) the Emperor's recognition of the Cisalpine Republic; (4) participation of the Batavian Republic in the treaty; (5) the assembling of a congress of the plenipotentiaries of the Empire and the French Republic at Rastadt to conclude a general peace.
2. The secret articles enumerate numerous cessions to France, with compensations to the German princes, making the Rhine a free river and the frontier of France.
3. England alone remains at war with France. The invasion of England by France is considered, but Bonaparte prefers to attack her power in the East. Diplomatic activity of England.
4. The Congress at Rastadt (December 9, 1797). Bernadotte mobbed at Vienna (April, 1799). Assassination of the French plenipotentiaries. Renewal of war between France and Austria.

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Lecture XIX.—THE FORMATION OF THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE.

1. The quarrel between the Directory and the Legislature renders France ripe for a strong government in the fall of 1799.
2. Napoleon Bonaparte, seeing his opportunity, leaves his army in Egypt and hastens to France, October, 1799.
3. The revolution of 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799) renders Napoleon the master of France as First Consul.

I.—THE FIRST CONSUL SECURES PEACE FOR FRANCE.

1. Napoleon, on becoming First Consul, finds France engaged in war with a powerful coalition composed of England, Austria, Russia, the Two Sicilies, and Turkey, soon to be joined by Portugal, and the hope of peace dissipated by the termination of the Congress of Rastadt.
2. The military situation renders Napoleon a necessity to France.
3. Napoleon writes directly to George III (December 26, 1799) concerning peace, but in vain.
4. Mission of Duroc to St. Petersburg and the winning of the Emperor Paul I by Napoleon; revival of the Armed Neutrality of the North against England (August, 1800).
5. Duroc sent to change Prussia's neutrality to a French alliance, and the obstinacy of Frederick William III.
6. Napoleon's recognition of Pope Pius VII.
7. Campaign of Marengo (May-June) and of Hohenlinden (May-December), 1800.
8. The Treaty of Lunéville (February 9, 1801): (1) Peace is established between the Emperor and France; (2) the cession of Belgium and the Rhine frontier are confirmed to France; (3) the Emperor assumes indemnities to the hereditary princes on the left bank of the Rhine; (4) the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics is guaranteed.

9. Death of Paul I (March 23, 1801); Alexander I resumes the relations of Russia with England against France; dissolution of the Armed Neutrality of the North.
10. Disorganization of the coalition against France: (1) The Two Sicilies make peace by the Treaty of Florence (March 28, 1801); (2) Portugal withdraws from the coalition by the Treaty of Madrid (September 29, 1801); (3) Russia is pacifically inclined and signs the Treaty of Paris (October 8, 1801), engaging neutrality; (4) Turkey signs preliminaries to the general peace.
11. The peace of Amiens (March 27, 1802):
 - (1) England recognizes the Batavian Republic and restores to it and to Spain all territories taken except Ceylon and Trinidad;
 - (2) The French fisheries are restored;
 - (3) Compensation to the House of Orange is recognized;
 - (4) The possessions of Portugal are left as before the war;
 - (5) Turkey accedes (June 25, 1802) and opens the Black Sea to France. Europe is again at peace.
 - (6) Malta is to be surrendered to the Knights of St. John.
12. By plebiscite Napoleon becomes *Consul for life* (August 2, 1802), with 3,568,885 votes for and 8,374 against.

II.—THE RECONSTITUTION OF GERMANY.

1. The cessions made to France by the Peace of Lunéville require a reconstruction of the Empire. This is provided for by a deputation which is named October 2, 1801, and meets at Ratisbon (August, 1802).
2. The "Recez" or report (February 25, 1803):
 - (1) Abolishes the "Circles" of the Empire;
 - (2) Creates one ecclesiastical and nine lay electors, in place of three ecclesiastical and five lay electors;
 - (3) Secularizes many ecclesiastical possessions;
 - (4) Makes a new territorial distribution; and
 - (5) Indemnifies the princes whose territories are ceded to France by secularization and readjustment.

3. Effects of the reorganization :

- (1) Austria is weakened in Germany ;
- (2) Bavaria is greatly enlarged ;
- (3) Prussia acquires great gains ;
- (4) The Free Cities are reduced from 52 to 6 ;
- (5) The majority of the Electors become Protestant ;
- (6) Germany is composed of fewer and larger states.

III.—THE REORGANIZATION OF FRANCE.

1. Increase of territory by extension to the Rhine ; division into new " departments ; " nine made of Belgium.
2. Switzerland remodeled and brought into closer relations with France by the Act of Mediation (February 19, 1803).
3. The Republic of Geneva first recognized as independent and then constituted the Department of the Leman.
4. Savoy and the County of Nice made into " departments."
5. Piedmont, instead of being amalgamated with the Cisalpine Republic, made into six " departments."
6. A system of *Préfets*, *Sous-Préfets*, and *Maires* created for the departments, *arrondissements*, and *communes*.
7. A system of national education devised, ending in the University, established later.
8. Restoration of the navy and new colonial policy ; operations in San Domingo ; Louisiana obtained from Spain in exchange for the Kingdom of Etruria.
9. The Concordat with Pius VII (July 15, 1801).

IV.—THE HUMILIATION OF AUSTRIA.

1. England refuses to surrender Malta, and points to Napoleon's annexations as breaches of the treaty. The First Consul resents the freedom of the English press. War breaks out in May, 1803.
2. Conspiracies against Napoleon's life ; execution of d'Enghien ; Europe enraged against Napoleon.
3. Spain, Portugal, and Holland pressed into an alliance with France (October–December, 1803).

4. The camp at Boulogne prepared for a descent upon England; failure of the attempt.
5. Napoleon, proclaimed Emperor (May 18, 1804), writes another letter to the King of England concerning peace, but England continues the formation of a new coalition against him.
6. England unites Sweden (December, 1804), Russia (April 11, 1805), and Austria (August 9, 1805) against Napoleon.
7. By the threat of invasion Napoleon secures the neutrality of the King of the Two Sicilies, and by the brilliant campaign of 1805 soon forces Austria, after taking Vienna (November 13) and the battle of Austerlitz (December 2), to sign the Treaty of Presburg (December 26, 1805), by which the House of Austria is completely abased and stripped of her Italian territories, and Bavaria and Würtemberg are enriched with spoils in Germany, whose princes are recognized as kings. Russia withdraws her troops from the Empire.
8. England, having annihilated the French and Spanish fleet at Trafalgar (October 21), is safe from the master of Europe.

V.—THE CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE.

1. The imperial plans of Napoleon are executed by Talleyrand, who brings under the protection of the French Emperor, by the great compact known as the Confederation of the Rhine (July 12, 1806), Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and thirteen other German states: (1) these states separate themselves from the Empire; (2) the imperial laws are abrogated; (3) a new diet is established at Frankfort; (4) the Emperor of the French is declared "Protector;" (5) numerous duchies and cities are incorporated with the confederated states; (6) the Confederation forms a defensive alliance with the Emperor of the French.
2. Other states join this Confederation (1806-1810), making thirty-six in all.
3. The Emperor Francis II resigns the imperial dignity (August 6, 1806), and the Holy Roman Empire is dissolved.

COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture XX.—THE SUPREMACY OF NAPOLEON.

1. Although the summer of 1806 marks a great extension of Napoleon's power, there is a general disposition for peace, England being under the pacific ministry of Fox, Russia disposed to make a separate peace with France, Prussia still neutral, and Austria completely humbled.
2. The death of Fox (September 13, 1806), the refusal of Russia to ratify a separate peace negotiated with France, and the anger of Prussia at the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine combine to render possible a new coalition against Napoleon.

I.—THE SUBJUGATION OF PRUSSIA.

1. Frederick William III, offended at the conduct of Napoleon in forming the Confederation and with his proposition to return Hanover to England after it had been promised to Prussia, orders the Emperor of the French to retire behind the Rhine (October 6, 1806). Napoleon advances and wins the battle of Jena (October 14), enters Berlin with a French army (October 24), and, Russia coming to the aid of Prussia, proceeds to occupy Poland.
2. Prussia, which had been drawn into war with England on account of Hanover, makes peace by the Treaty of Memel (January 28, 1807), renouncing her claim to Hanover and offering England free navigation and commerce.
3. By the Treaty of Bartenstein (April, 1807) Alexander I and Frederick William III make an offensive and defensive alliance, but the Napoleonic victory at Friedland (June 14, 1807) induces Russia to consider peace.
4. The Peace of Tilsit negotiated in the middle of the Niémen. "*Je hais les Anglais autant que vous,*" says Alexander. "*Alors la paix est faite,*" says Napoleon. The old empires of the East and of the West are intended to be re-established. Two treaties are negotiated: (1) *Between France and Russia*, establishing peace, restoring the King of Prussia to his dominions, with certain exceptions, Prussian Poland being assigned to the King of Saxony as part

of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a part of eastern Prussia going to Russia, France retaining the Rhenish provinces, the Confederation of the Rhine being recognized by Russia, as also the kingship of Napoleon's brothers—Jerome over Westphalia, Louis over Holland, and Joseph over Naples; (2) *between France and Prussia*, the latter renouncing the Polish provinces, ceding the country between the Elbe and the Rhine for the benefit of Westphalia, made up of this and other territory, and recognizing the Bonaparte brothers as kings. Prussia also signs secret articles making further territorial arrangements, providing for the provisional annexation of Hanover to Westphalia, and agreeing to make common cause with France if England has not treated with France before December 1, 1807.

Russia also promises her mediation with England, failing which an offensive and defensive alliance with France becomes operative, and Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal are to be induced to close their ports to England.

5. Napoleon now has no enemy but England. He has reached the zenith of his glory.

II.—NAPOLÉON ARRAYS THE CONTINENT AGAINST ENGLAND.

1. The Continental Blockade. Attempt to ruin England by depriving her of markets.
2. The Berlin Decrees (November 21, 1806), declaring the British Islands in a state of blockade. All English merchandise to be confiscated.
3. Destruction of the Danish fleet, during peace, to prevent seizure by Napoleon (September, 1807).
4. English commerce not destroyed, but the continental nations impoverished.
5. Invasion of Portugal by Napoleon for refusing to observe the blockade. Treaty of Fontainebleau (October 29, 1807) for a combined attack on Portugal by Spain and France. Project of dismemberment.
6. The Milan Decree (December 17, 1807). Any ships touch ing at a British port to be seized and treated as prize.

7. Sweden alone, under Gustavus IV, friendly to England. Gustavus refuses to accede to the Continental Blockade. Napoleon takes Swedish Pomerania (1807), invades Finland (1808), Gustavus IV becomes insane, and is de-throned (1809).

III.—NAPOLEON'S REARRANGEMENT OF EUROPE.

1. Napoleon, become Emperor, aims to secure his power by establishing vassal kings dependent upon France: The Batavian, Cisalpine, and Parthenopean republics are transformed into kingdoms:
 - (1) Holland, after the brief rule of Schimmelpennick (1805-1806), becomes a kingdom, with Louis Bonaparte as king (June, 1806);
 - (2) The Cisalpine Republic—Lombardy, the Duchies of Modena and Parma, with Bologna and Ferrara—with Venice added in 1806, becomes the Kingdom of Italy, of which Napoleon himself is King, ruling through a viceroy, Eugene de Beauharnais;
 - (3) The Parthenopean Republic (the Two Sicilies), overthrown by Ferdinand (1799), is recovered by France, and Joseph Bonaparte is made King of Naples (March, 1806). Other Italian provinces fall under the power of Napoleon, and by 1810 all Italy is under the French Empire.
2. Germany is in like manner reconstituted:
 - (1) Bavaria, united with the Electorate of the Palatinate and the Duchy of Zweibrücken and increased by the Tyrol, the cities of Nuremberg and Ratisbon (1805), and the Principality of Salzburg (1809), is made a powerful kingdom under Maximilian Joseph, who owes his power to Napoleon;
 - (2) To check that state, Frederick, Duke of Würtemberg, is made a king, with additions of territory;
 - (3) Charles Frederick, Duke of Baden, is made Elector (1803) and Grand Duke (1805);
 - (4) The Kingdom of Westphalia is formed for Jerome Bonaparte, being composed of Hesse-Cassel, the Prussian territories west of the Elbe, the bishoprics of Paderborn and Hildesheim, the Old Mark

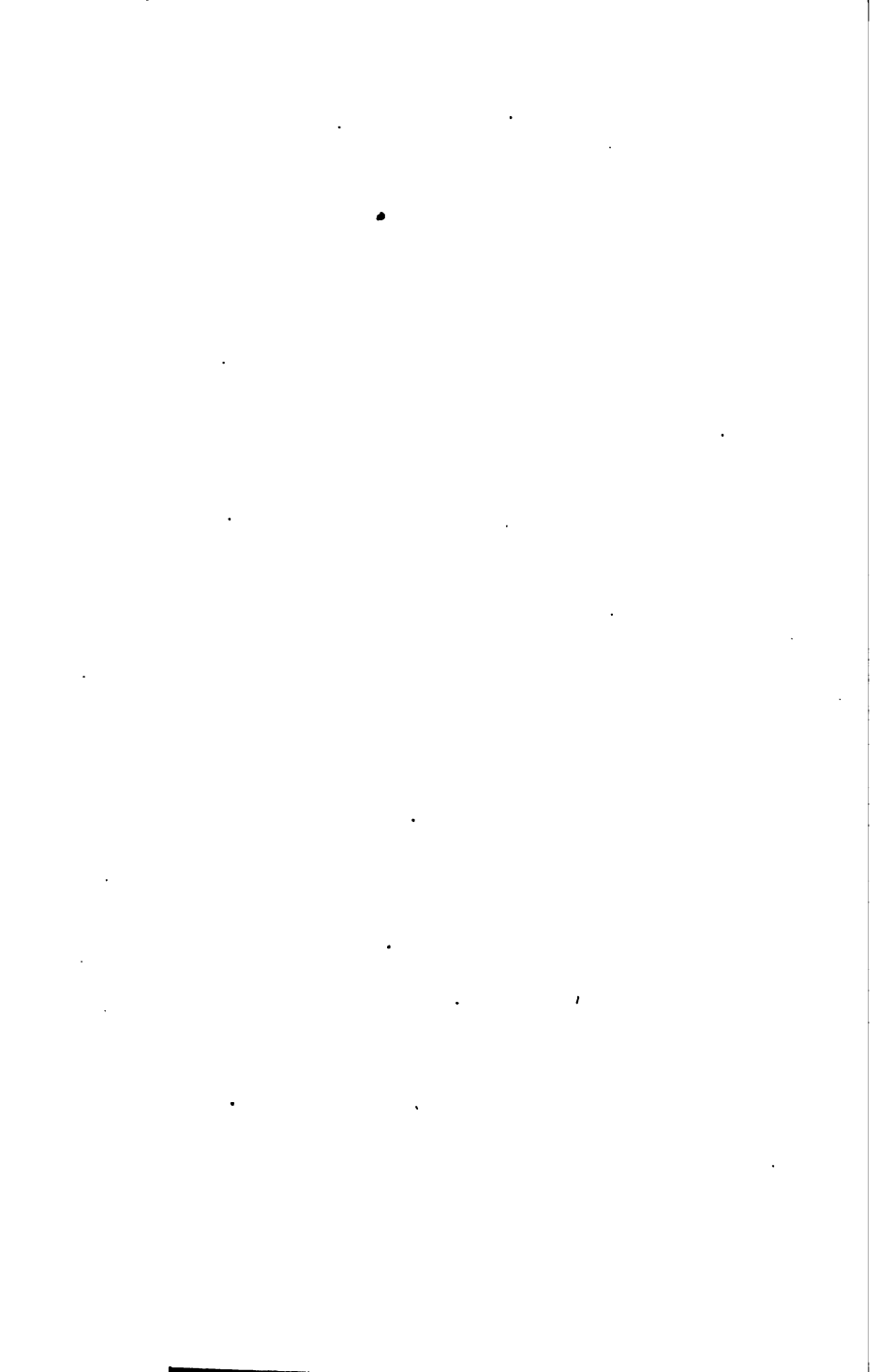
of Brandenburg, a portion of Hanover, and other lands;

- (5) The Grand Duchy of Berg is created from several duchies and bishoprics around Düsseldorf for Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law;
 - (6) Saxony, raised to a kingdom (1806), situated between Prussia and Austria, becomes a seat of Napoleon's power under Frederick Augustus I, who is also made Grand Duke of Warsaw;
 - (7) The remaining German principalities, so far as they are allowed to exist, are included in the Confederation of the Rhine, leaving in Germany, outside of the Napoleonic system, only Prussia and Austria, both much reduced and surrounded by enemies.
3. The conquest of Spain, weakened by the queen's passion for Godoy and the feebleness of Charles IV, follows the conquest of Portugal. Charles IV abdicates in favor of Ferdinand VII, who throws himself into the power of Napoleon. The crown of Spain is conferred upon Joseph Bonaparte (June 6, 1808), that of Naples being given to Murat. Spanish patriotism stoutly resists Napoleon's designs. Joseph is forced to leave Madrid (July 20, 1808).

IV.—THE REVELATION OF NAPOLEON'S LIMITATIONS.

1. The stubborn resistance of the Spaniards requires Napoleon's presence and the withdrawal of troops from Germany. To withdraw them with safety to his authority he needs the aid of Alexander I, already influenced against Napoleon by England and the conquest of Spain; hence the Congress at Erfurt.
2. The Congress of Erfurt and Treaty between the two Emperors (September 27–October 12, 1808):
 - (1) Peace to be made with England on the principle *uti possidetis*;
 - (2) England to recognize, as a condition of peace, Russia's possession of Finland, Moldavia, and Wallachia;
 - (3) If Austria declares war on France, Russia to declare it on Austria.

3. Alexander I perceives that he, not Napoleon, is the arbiter of Europe.
4. England forms an alliance with Spain by the Treaty of London (January 14, 1809). Napoleon is preoccupied in Spain.
5. Austria reopens the war against Napoleon, who arrives in Germany, and on May 12 takes Vienna. Defeated at Wagram (July 6), Austria signs the Treaty of Schoenbrunn (October 14, 1809).
6. The Peninsular War (1809-1812); Joseph Bonaparte driven from Madrid a second time.
7. States of the Church united to the French Empire (May 17, 1809); exasperation of Catholics.
8. Marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa of Austria (April 2, 1810).
9. Abdication of Louis Bonaparte and annexation of Holland to the French Empire (July 9, 1810).
10. North Germany from Holland to the mouth of the Weser annexed (December 13, 1810).
11. Napoleon's aristocracy. Western Europe has an absolute master.



COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture **XXI.**—THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

1. The effect of the Continental Blockade upon Europe reveals the despotic character of Napoleon's rule and alienates the people of every country.
2. Alexander I, in view of the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which threatened the re-establishment of Poland, the annexations and pretensions of Napoleon, and the ruinous consequences of the Continental Blockade, becomes less friendly to Napoleon.
3. Napoleon, on the other hand, offended by the delay of the Czar in granting him a Russian grand duchess in marriage and by the neutrality of Russia in the last struggle with Austria, feels disposed to punish his ally.

I.—THE INVASION OF RUSSIA.

1. England having mediated a peace between Russia and Turkey (Treaty of Bukarest, May 28, 1812, the last treaty signed by these powers separately), much to Russia's advantage, the *rapprochement* of England and Russia becomes evident.
2. Napoleon, seeing in Alexander I his only dominant rival, had already signed a defensive alliance with Prussia (February 14, 1812) and with Austria (March 14, 1812) in preparation for an attack upon Russia, which had declined to obey his orders to confiscate neutral ships suspected of having violated the Berlin and Milan decrees.
3. The French troops had crossed the Niémen when Russia and England concluded the Treaty of Oerebro (July 18, 1812), by which (1) relations of friendship were reëstablished, and (2) reciprocal aid in case of aggression was promised.
4. The Treaty of Velikie-Louki is signed by Russia and Spain, a council seated at Cadiz acting in the name of Ferdinand VII (July 20, 1812).

5. The French army occupies Moscow (September 14, 1812) and on the 16th the city is destroyed by fire. Alexander detains Napoleon with negotiations until October 15, and the winter becomes the ally of Russia.
6. Napoleon deserts his ruined army on December 5 and hastens to Paris.
7. In the meantime Wellington has defeated the French army at Salamanca (July 12) and occupied Madrid (August 12), but the Anglo-Portuguese army is forced to retire into Portugal, and Joseph Bonaparte returns to Madrid.

II.—THE LAST COALITION AGAINST NAPOLEON.

1. The retreat of the French from Russia incites Prussia to throw off the mask and declare war (March 16, 1813), having concluded the Treaty of Kalisch with Russia (February 28, 1813), engaging to furnish 80,000 men and Russia 150,000 against Napoleon, and not to negotiate a separate peace. Russia also agrees not to lay down arms until Prussia's territories of 1806 are restored.
2. Sweden, of which the French general Bernadotte has become King, having remained neutral after Napoleon's refusal to aid in the conquest of Norway, allies itself with England by the Treaty of Stockholm (March 3, 1813), furnishing 30,000 men against France. Sweden also concludes treaties with Spain (March 19, 1813) and Prussia (April 22, 1813), having previously made a treaty of peace with Russia (July 12, 1812).
3. Napoleon advances into Saxony, winning the battle of Lutzen (May 3), and defeats the allied armies at Bautzen (May 20), making his headquarters at Dresden, and the Armistice of Pleswitz is signed (June 3, 1813).
4. The Congress of Prague (July 5, 1813) is called, with Austria as mediator. The demands of Austria are: (1) the dissolution of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and partition of its territory by Prussia, Austria, and Russia; (2) re-establishment of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck in their ancient freedom; (3) renunciation by Napoleon of his title of mediator of the Confederation of the Rhine and

of the Swiss Confederation; (4) reorganization of Prussia with the Elbe as a frontier; (5) cession of the Illyrian provinces and Trieste to Austria; (6) guarantee that the limits of the powers should be preserved; (7) return of independence to Holland and Spain.

5. Although Napoleon is allowed to retain Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, and Italy, he refuses to accede to these terms, hostilities are renewed (August 10), and Austria throws her strength with the allies (August 12, 1813). August 14 Napoleon accepts the terms, but too late.
6. Austria signs an alliance with Russia and Prussia (September 9, 1813) and with England (October 3, 1813), furnishing 60,000 men against France.
7. England, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, and Spain are now combined against Napoleon.

III.—DISSOLUTION OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE AND GENERAL UPRISING.

1. The Confederation of the Rhine, weary of Napoleon's domination and apprehending his defeat, begins to abandon him.
2. Bavaria is the first to desert him, signing the Treaty of Ried (October 8, 1813) with Austria, engaging not to make a separate peace and to coöperate in the field. Bavaria furnishes 36,000 men.
3. The battle of Leipsic (October 16-19) destroys Napoleon's forces, and his troops retreat toward the Rhine, the Bavarians joining the allies to attack them.
4. All Germany, ripe for a war of liberation, now rises to suppress Napoleon. The Dutch rebel and declare for the Prince of Orange. Italy is in insurrection and France is weary and exhausted. In Spain Wellington drives Joseph Bonaparte from Madrid and the French troops from Spain and invades France at Bayonne (October-December).
5. After the battle of Leipsic, Würtemberg (November 2, 1813) and Baden (November 20) desert the Confederation

and join Austria and Prussia, while Saxony is in the hands of the allies. An army of 520,000 men is arrayed against Napoleon. All Europe is against him except Denmark,—which had formed an alliance with him (July 10, 1813) to save the conquest of Norway by Sweden,—and Murat, King of Naples.

IV.—THE PROPOSALS OF FRANKFORT.

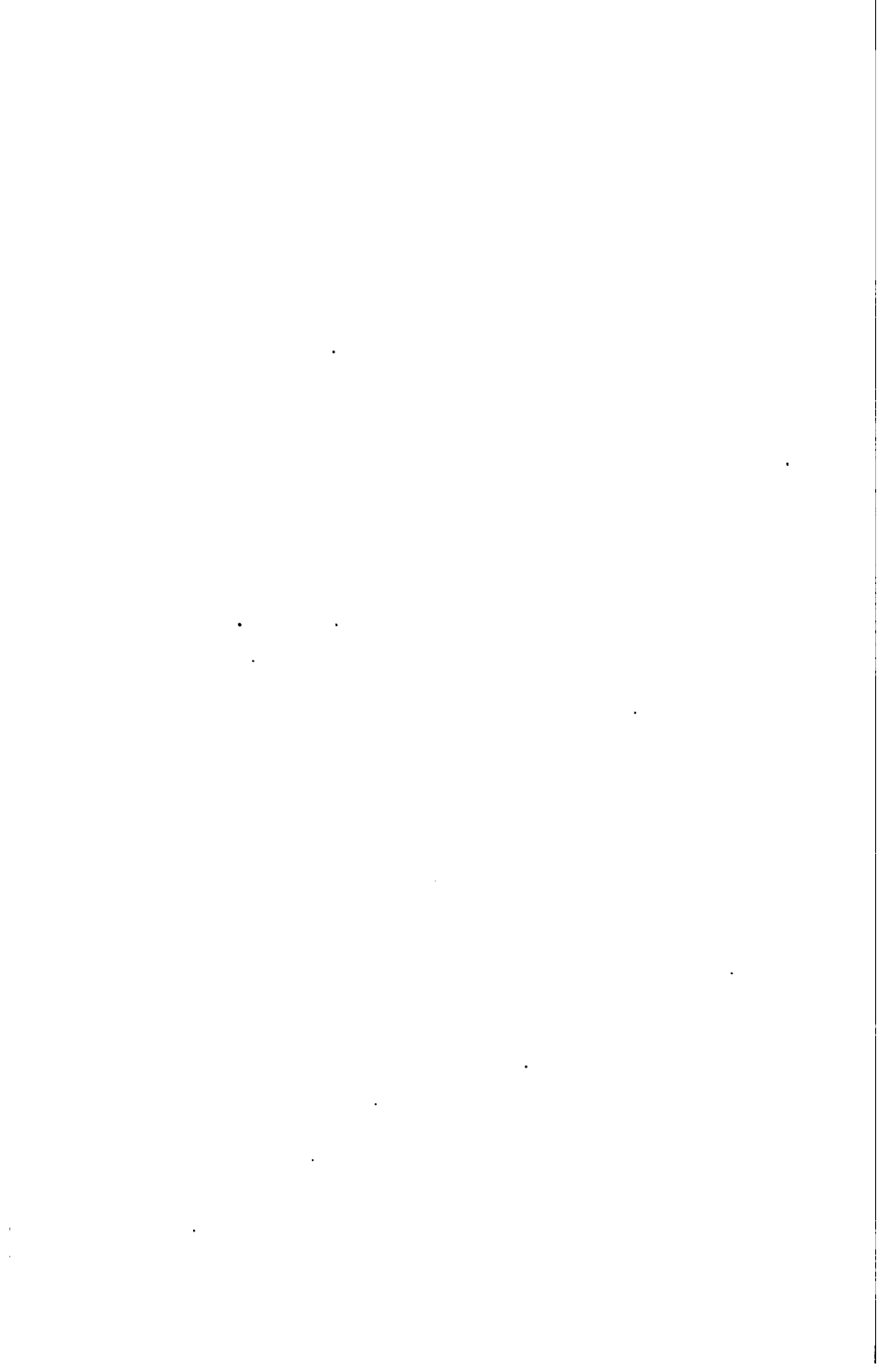
1. Two influences prevent the invasion of France and the destruction of Napoleon: (1) the desire to balance the strength of Russia and prevent her absolute dictation; and (2) the fear of rousing France to desperation and re-consolidating Napoleon's power over her.
2. Metternich, representing the allies at Frankfort, sends to Napoleon (November 9, 1813) the following proposals: (1) recognition of the natural frontiers of France, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; (2) restitution of independence to Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain.
3. Napoleon appears disposed to accept these propositions as the basis of a peace, but does not send Caulaincourt to discuss them until late in December, and then demands possession of cities on the right bank of the Rhine, and that kingdoms shall be formed for Jerome in Germany and Eugene de Beauharnais in Italy.
4. Alexander I, seconded by Frederick William III, desires to invade France, as Napoleon has invaded Russia and Prussia, and England joins them in wishing to reduce France to the limits of 1792. Napoleon's delay in accepting is made a ground of advance, and France is invaded (December 31, 1813). Napoleon's brilliant resistance, but France not united. Murat joins Austria (January 11, 1814), and Denmark unites with the allies (January 14, 1814).

V.—THE CONGRESS OF CHATILLON AND LAST EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

1. A Congress is assembled at Châtillon (February 3–March 19, 1814), at which it is demanded that France be reduced to the limits of 1792. Napoleon refuses to abandon Bel-

gium, but England, through Lord Castlereagh, insists; exhaustion of France and loss of initiative; Napoleon's error in refusing the terms offered.

2. The Treaty of Chaumont (March 1, 1814) binds England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia to a defensive and offensive alliance if France refuses to accept her ancient limits, each maintaining 150,000 men and England contributing £5,000,000 a year till the end is accomplished; Napoleon's resistance, the battle of Paris (March 30, 1814), and occupation of the capital. "The army will fight no more!"
3. Talleyrand, visited by Alexander I and Frederick William III, organizes a provisional government.
4. Abdication of Napoleon (April 6, 1814) at Fontainebleau.
5. Treaty of Fontainebleau (April 11, 1814), by which Napoleon renounces for himself and his heirs the Empire and Kingdom of Italy and receives the Island of Elba.
6. The First Treaty of Paris (May 30, 1814) between Austria, Russia, Prussia, Great Britain, and France, by which Louis XVIII agrees that France shall be reduced to the limits of 1792. Germany is to become a Confederacy instead of an Empire. Holland and Belgium are to be united under the House of Orange. Italy is to be divided into independent states.
7. On the same day a treaty is signed by France and Sweden, by which Norway, taken from Denmark, is recognized as a Swedish possession.



COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture XXII.—THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

1. The fall of Napoleon involves the necessity of restoring the equilibrium of Europe, which he has destroyed.
2. For this purpose article 32 of the first Treaty of Paris (May 30, 1814) provides for a general European Congress to be held at Vienna.
3. Between the last-named treaty and the Congress of Vienna the following separate treaties of peace were signed :
 - (1) Between Austria and Bavaria, by which Bavaria cedes to Austria the Tyrol, the Voralberg, and Salzburg (June 3, 1814) ;
 - (2) Between France and Spain, that between Napoleon and Ferdinand VII, made December 11, 1813, not having been ratified (July 20, 1814) ;
 - (3) Between Denmark and Prussia, in which Prussia agrees to procure for Denmark compensation for Norway, ceded to Sweden, Pomerania having been yielded by Sweden to Prussia (August 25, 1814).

I.—CONVOCATION OF THE CONGRESS.

1. Called for August 1, the congress is postponed by an arrangement made in London until October 1, and by a declaration on October 8, further postponed till November 1, 1814.
2. The great powers (Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England) hesitate to open the congress, intending to settle everything themselves, and general sessions are never held.
3. The Emperor Francis acts as host. The Emperor of Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, the Prince of Orange, the Grand Dukes of Baden, Saxe-Weimar, and Hesse-Cassel, and the Dukes of Brunswick, Nassau, and Saxe-Coburg, with many members of their families, are present in person.

4. Fifty-eight separate governments are represented by about two hundred persons, including among the plenipotentiaries, for Russia, Counts Rasumovski, von Stackelberg, and Nesselrode, aided by Stein, former Prussian minister, Pozzo di Borgo, Count Capo d'Istria, etc. ; for Austria, Prince Metternich, State Chancellor ; for England, Lords Castlereagh (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), Cathcart, Clancarty, and Stewart, aided by the Duke of Wellington and others ; for Prussia, Prince von Hardenberg, State Chancellor, and William von Humboldt ; for France, Prince Talleyrand, the Duke de Dalberg, the Marquis de la Tour du Pin, and Count Alexis Noailles ; for Denmark, Count Bernstorff ; for Spain, Gomez de Labrador ; for Portugal, Palmela-Sousa-Holstein, and others ; for Sweden, Count de Laevenhelm.
5. Talleyrand is treated coolly at first, but makes France the champion of the secondary states, and by defending legitimacy and playing upon the fears and jealousies of "the Four" becomes a force in the negotiations.

II.—THE WORK OF THE CONGRESS.

1. The chief problems before the congress are (1) the redistribution of territory with reference to legitimacy, security, and indemnity, and (2) the reorganization of the German states.
2. The principal discussions are by "the Four," to which France is soon added, for general European questions Spain, Portugal, and Sweden joining for certain purposes, and the German states, especially Bavaria, Hanover, and Württemberg, taking part in the German questions. Metternich is elected president of the congress.
3. The following commissions are organized : (1) On verification of powers ; (2) on Switzerland ; (3) on statistics ; (4) on abolition of the slave trade ; (5) on the free navigation of rivers ; (6) on rank of powers and diplomatic agents ; (7) on the pretensions of Marie-Louise ; (8) on the affairs of Sardinia, etc.

4. The territorial pretensions of Russia—Finland, Bessarabia, the Persian border provinces, and the whole of Poland.
5. The claims of Prussia to the whole of Saxony.
6. The interests of Austria, England, and France in these demands.
7. Talleyrand, Castlereagh, and Metternich sign a secret treaty (January 3, 1815), forming an alliance to resist the schemes of Russia and Prussia, to which Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Holland are invited to accede.
8. Napoleon escapes from Elba (March 1, 1815) and proceeds at once toward Paris; the Bourbons in flight and Napoleon again master of France; the Hundred Days.
9. A declaration signed by all the powers at the congress (March 13) puts Napoleon under the ban; his arrival at Paris known at Vienna March 21. A new treaty is signed (March 25) by England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, by which each power agrees to place 150,000 men in the field and to continue the campaign until Napoleon is destroyed. By convention of March 31, signed by all the powers, 794,000 men are promised, and England, by special agreement of April 30, furnishes an annual subsidy of five million pounds sterling.
10. Austria and Russia sign a treaty of friendship, effecting a final repartition of Poland, and the same day Prussia and Russia sign another to the same effect (April 21, 1815). The city of Cracow is by this treaty constituted a republic and its constitution fixed.
11. Prussia and Saxony sign a peace by which Saxony cedes to Prussia a part of its territory occupied by 700,000 out of 2,000,000 inhabitants (May 18, 1815).
12. Austria and Sardinia sign a treaty by which this kingdom receives, with some exceptions, the limits of 1792 and the former Republic of Genoa, and in turn cedes to the Swiss canton of Geneva the greater part of Savoy (May 20, 1815).

13. Prussia and Denmark exchange certain territories, Lauenburg going to Denmark and Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rügen going to Prussia (June 4, 1815).
14. While these arrangements are being made, Napoleon perceives that all Europe is against him, and on June 15, 1815, at the head of 129,000 men, he takes the offensive. On the 16th he defeats Blücher at Ligny. On the 18th the battle of Waterloo is fought. On the 22d he abdicates in favor of his son. On July 15 he surrenders to the British on board the *Bellerophon*.

III.—RESULTS OF THE CONGRESS.

1. Formation of the Germanic Confederation (June 8, 1815):
 - (1) Thirty-eight members, including Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Hanover (raised to a kingdom) the Grand Duchy of Baden, etc.; (2) all the princes have the right to send ambassadors, make alliances, etc., but engage not to take steps against the common interest; (3) a Bundestag, or Diet, is to assemble at Frankfort-on-the-Main, composed of the representatives of the members of the Confederation, under the presidency of Austria; (4) an army of 300,000 men is to be maintained, divided into ten army corps.
2. The Final Act of the Congress of Vienna (June 9, 1815) is signed by the eight powers, England, Austria, Spain, France, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, and makes the following provisions: (1) England has Malta, Heligoland, and the protectorate of the Ionian islands; (2) Austria recovers northern Italy, Lombardy, Modena, Tuscany, Venice, Illyria, Dalmatia, Tyrol, and the Voralberg; (3) Russia receives eastern Galicia and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; (4) Prussia secures the Duchy of Posen, Swedish Pomerania, the island of Rügen, the northern portion of Saxony, and a vast territory on the left bank of the Rhine; (5) Sweden has Norway, taken away from Denmark; (6) Denmark receives the Duchy of Lauenburg and enters the Germanic Confederation; (7) Bavaria receives the Palatinate on the Rhine and Würtzburg; (8) Luxemburg becomes a grand duchy and

is made a part of Holland and the Confederation; (9) Holland becomes a kingdom, composed of Holland and Belgium; (10) Switzerland is increased by three cantons and neutralized; (11) Sardinia is recognized as a kingdom, with Savoy and Genoa added; (12) the Duchy of Parma is assigned to the Empress Marie-Louise during her life; (13) the States of the Church are reconstituted within their ancient limits; (14) the kingdom of the Two Sicilies is reconstituted by the reunion of Naples and Sicily and restored to the Bourbon family; (15) Spain is restored to Ferdinand VII; (16) Portugal is restored to the House of Braganza.

3. The slave trade is to be abolished by France after five years and by Spain after seven.
4. Nine articles are inserted in the Final Act regulating the navigation of rivers, which is henceforth practically free.
5. The labors of the congress are terminated with the signing of the Final Act (June 9, 1815), but we must seek its completion in the second Treaty of Paris (November 20, 1815), by which peace was finally concluded between the allies and France in four separate, but identical, instruments, which provide (1) that the limits of France shall be those of 1790, with a few slight exceptions; (2) that France shall pay an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs; (3) that she shall maintain an army of 150,000 men to guard her frontiers at Condé, Valenciennes, Bonchain, Cambrai, etc., for five years; (4) that the first Treaty of Paris (May 30, 1814) and the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna be confirmed.
6. Preponderance of Russia on land and of England on the ocean.

COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture XXIII.—THE HOLY ALLIANCE.

1. The opposition to Napoleon had necessitated a combination of the great powers, England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, who collectively assumed the control and leadership of European affairs.
2. Once accomplished, the safety of Europe seemed to require a continued guardianship by these powers, who feel called upon to maintain the existing order of things.
3. Henceforth European questions are to be regulated by the supervision of the great powers under the guise of the "Concert of Europe."

I.—ORIGIN AND PURPOSES OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE.

1. Having destroyed "l'Ange noir," as Madame de Krüdenier called Napoleon, Europe ought now, she thought, to bow before "l'Ange blanc," as she named Alexander—"the universal saviour."
2. Alexander meets this remarkable woman, and is filled with her mysticism and enthusiasm, in Switzerland, just before the Hundred Days. In Paris, after the final fall of Napoleon, he visits her several times daily, "praying together and invoking the guidance of the Spirit."
3. The Treaty of the Holy Alliance, signed by the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia (September 26, 1815), is a solemn compact based on the Holy Scriptures, (1) affirming the brotherhood of all men, (2) the three monarchs regarding themselves as "the delegates of Providence" to govern three Christian nations under the guidance of Jesus Christ, and (3) inviting all powers accepting the same principles to join in this Holy Alliance.

4. Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington refuse to sign, the latter saying, "The thought of Your Majesty would not be understood by our Parliament." Louis XVIII signs without hesitation, and the greater part of the Christian powers accede to this treaty.
5. Europe, when the alliance becomes known, in February, 1816, discovers in it the organization of a syndicate of monarchs for the repression of liberal ideas and representative government—a union of the princes against the people.
6. Article 6 of the Treaty of Chaumont had already provided for certain "reunions" of the powers, in pursuance of which the Congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle, Troppau, Laybach, and Verona were subsequently held.
7. Real intention of the alliance.

II.—THE SYSTEM OF METTERNICH.

1. Alexander not an opponent of liberalism for western Europe, but Metternich a stalwart advocate of conservatism and enemy of the French Revolution and all its doctrines.
2. Intervention of the powers to sustain the *status quo* produced by the Congress of Vienna is Metternich's sovereign remedy for Europe.
3. The principles of nationality and the sovereignty of peoples had been repressed by the congress, and here lay the danger for Austria, a composite state ruled by absolutism.
4. The question of the evacuation of France by the allies leads to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which Austria, England, Prussia, Russia, and France participate, Spain being excluded because of her colonial revolutions, the opposition of England, and the prudence of Metternich and Alexander. The Treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle (November 15, 1818) lay down the principle that the powers will act in concert in special reunions upon the means the most proper to employ to prevent the sad effects of a new revolutionary *bouleversement* by which France may be menaced, and revive the Treaty of Chaumont as to

the means of execution. Their purpose is to constitute the pentarchy into a counter-revolutionary league by recognizing the principle of intervention as a right belonging to the powers.

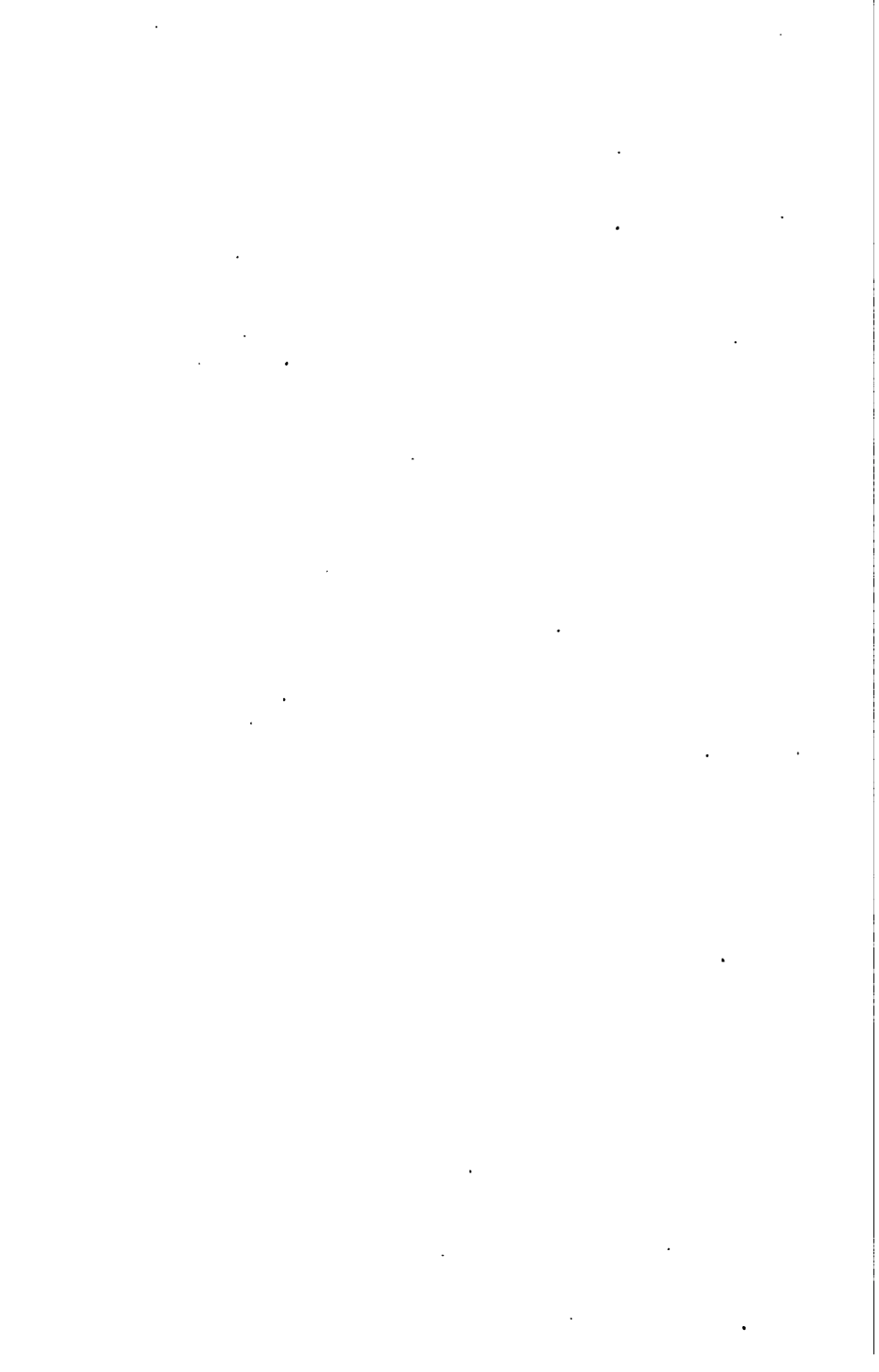
5. The Articles of Confederation of Germany, article 13, provided: "In all countries of the Confederation there shall be a constitution with representation." The Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar had granted one in 1816 to his state. The King of Bavaria followed in 1818, and other states were promised constitutions. The King of Prussia wavered, Hardenberg being won over by Metternich at Aix-la-Chapelle; assassination of Kotzebue.
6. The German Congress at Carlsbad convenes August 6, 1819; the Carlsbad Decrees: (1) Freedom of press restricted; (2) commission to investigate intrigues; (3) suppression of the *Burschenschaft*; (4) the universities under inspectors; (5) all German governments must submit to the conclusions of the Diet.
7. Decrees confirmed by the Diet; persecution of professors; execution of Sands (May 20, 1820); triumph of Metternich in Germany.
8. The popular demands for the restoration of the constitution of 1812 in Spain and in Naples becoming irresistible without outside repression, the Congress of Troppau is called (October 20, 1820) to consider the duty of the allies. Metternich endeavors to extend to Europe the principles he has imposed on Germany. He lays down the doctrine that "a government may control political changes in another state when they menace its security."

III.—THE EXECUTION OF METTERNICH'S SYSTEM.

1. Metternich's doctrine of intervention is opposed by France and England, themselves constitutional states with popular representation, and fearing Austria's further preponderance in Italy.
2. Alexander proposes that Ferdinand IV be sustained against revolution and afterward accord a constitution to Naples. Austria will not have a constitutional state in Italy.

3. Revolutions breaking out in Piedmont and Portugal, Metternich wins over Alexander, and, without the knowledge of England and France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia prepare a protocol (November 19, 1820) and issue a circular (December 8), informing Europe that states modified by revolution will be considered out of the alliance, and that friendly measures, then force, will be employed to suppress revolt.
4. This principle is applied to Naples, and Ferdinand IV is invited to Laybach, whither the congress adjourns from Troppau. Arrived at Laybach, after having sworn at Naples to defend the constitution, Ferdinand writes a letter to his parliament, demanding submission to his authority. An Austrian army enters Naples to enforce this demand (March 24, 1821) against the protests of England and France.
5. In France the ultra-royalists obtain control, while in England Castlereagh, though protesting, makes no opposition. The three absolute monarchies, therefore, dominate.
6. The Congress of Verona opens in October, 1822, to examine the affairs of Italy. France now wishes to oppose revolution in Spain as dangerous for herself, but *alone*. The four governments—Austria, Russia, Prussia, and France—now demand the immediate restoration of the king. Wellington alone opposes. A circular note ordering their ambassadors to quit Spain if the demand is not accorded is sent by the four powers on December 13, and the Congress of Verona is closed December 14. This circular is the last manifesto of the Holy Alliance.
- [7. Louis XVIII and his Prime Minister, Villèle, do not desire a war, but Montmorency, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, pressed by Alexander and aided by Chataubriand, pushes on the war, aided by the clerical party. The circular notes arrive at Madrid January 5, 1823, and on the 9th San Miguel replies that Spain will maintain her constitution. The Cortes sustain the decision and the ambassadors withdraw.

8. A French army invades Spain (April 7 to October 1, 1823), a war ensues between French and royalists against the liberals, and on November 13 Ferdinand VII enters Madrid in triumph. "The years of Colomarde" and the "Destroying Angel."
9. George Canning, who succeeded Lord Castlereagh as Minister for Foreign Affairs of England in 1822, having suggested in 1823 that the United States of America should take ground against the intervention of the Holy Alliance to prevent the revolutions then going on against Spain in South America, President James Monroe embodied in a message to Congress (December 2, 1823) a formulation of opinion long entertained in the United States, as follows: "We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." This is the essence of the "Monroe Doctrine."



COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture XXIV.—THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE.

1. At the Congress of Vienna, Greeks and Servians sought the protection of Europe against the severities of the Ottoman Turks, but were denied a hearing as being "outside the pale of civilization."
2. Three influences had combined to arouse the revolutionary spirit of the Greeks throughout the Ottoman Empire: (1) the contact with French ideas in the Ionian islands, and through the soldiers and scholars who diffused French doctrines; (2) the intellectual movement and restoration of the Greek language by Koraes and others, and (3) the growth of Greek commerce in the Mediterranean.
3. By the Treaty of Kainardji (1774) Russia had obtained the right to protect the Greek Christians, and the Greeks believed that Russia would aid them in throwing off the Turkish yoke.

I.—THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN GREECE.

1. The Greeks, obtaining no aid from the Congress of Vienna, organize the *Hetaeria Philike* (1814) at Odessa, whose object is the expulsion of the Turk from Europe and the re-establishment of a Greek empire.
2. Capo d'Istria is urged to become the head of the secret society, but declines to compromise the Czar, who is, nevertheless, believed by the Greeks to be its secret head.
3. In 1820 nearly every Greek belongs to this fraternity, which plots an insurrection.
4. In March, 1821, Constantine Ypsilanti, a Greek colonel in the Russian army, begins a fruitless revolt at Jassy, in Roumania. Alexander I disavows the movement and rebukes Ypsilanti, who takes refuge in Austria.

5. April 2, 1821, the Morea rises in revolt.
6. Execution of the Patriarch at Constantinople (April 22, 1821), recovery of his body, and general religious excitement in Russia.
7. Alexander, under the influence of Metternich, assents to the declaration against the Greek rebellion at Laybach, but realizes the feeling in St. Petersburg on his return.
8. Strogonoff, Russian ambassador, leaves Constantinople July 27, 1821.

II.—THE POLICY OF CANNING.

1. The cruelty of the Turks and the sturdy patriotism of the Greeks at last (1822) stir the hearts of Europe, but do not move the governments to action.
2. Capo d'Istria, perceiving that Alexander will not act decisively, resigns his office as minister of foreign affairs and leaves St. Petersburg for Geneva (August, 1822).
3. Canning, coming to the foreign office at this time (1822) protests against the intervention of the Holy Alliance in Spain and advocates the independence of nations.
4. The Greeks continuing their revolt in several islands and the Morea, Canning recognizes their belligerency (February, 1823), and a great wave of Philhellenism sweeps over England. Influence of Lord Byron.
5. Alexander proposes to regulate the affairs of the Balkan peninsula by a new congress at St. Petersburg, called in October, 1823, but it does not begin its sessions until February, 1825, and no sovereigns are present except the Czar himself. England takes no part, and the congress ends with a protocol requesting the Sultan to accord satisfaction to his subjects, and proposing mediation in case of refusal (April 7, 1825).
6. Alexander finally concludes to regulate the Eastern Question in conjunction with Canning, but dies before acting (December 5, 1825). Military insurrection in Russia.

7. Nicholas I, his successor, a soldier without mysticism, who regards the interests of Russia as supreme, has no faith in the Holy Alliance and resolves to act independently of Metternich.
8. Nicholas decides not to leave the protection of the Greeks to the English, but to coöperate with them against Turkey in Russia's interest.
9. Wellington is sent by Canning to St. Petersburg to arrange with Nicholas for enforced mediation (April 4, 1826).
10. The fall of Missolonghi (April 12, 1826), after a siege of a year's duration, and the atrocities of the Egyptian troops determine Russia to sustain with force the proposition of England. The system of Metternich is now turned against absolutism.

III.—THE DIPLOMACY OF INTERVENTION.

1. The protocol of April 4, 1826, proposes that Greece remain tributary to Turkey, but requires the withdrawal of the Turkish soldiers and population from Greece, which is to be allowed to elect its own authorities.
2. This protocol, secretly signed, is submitted to the other courts of Europe. Austria receives it with disgust and conspires against Canning. Prussia declines to join Russia and England. France, notwithstanding the absolutism of Charles X, who had succeeded Louis XVIII in 1824, joins with Russia and England.
3. By the Treaty of London (July 6, 1827) the protocol of St. Petersburg is adopted by Russia, England, and France: (1) the three powers offer mediation and demand an armistice; (2) Greece will remain under the suzerainty of the Porte, paying an annual tribute; (3) the Greek people will choose their own administration; (4) the Greeks will take possession of all Turkish property, paying an indemnity; (5) the limits will be fixed by special negotiations, and neither side is to seek an increase of territory. By the secret articles the Powers will take measures to suspend hostilities if this mediation is not accepted.

4. The Greeks accept the armistice. The Turks promise to observe it, but fail to do so. The allied powers send their fleets to Navarino to intimidate the Turks.
5. Canning's motive in this diplomacy is to prevent a war between Russia and Turkey, which might result in an extension of Russian power in the East. His death (August 8, 1827). Greatness of his policy.
6. Wellington succeeds Canning as minister of foreign affairs and hesitates to execute the Treaty of London.
7. Refusal of the Turks to accept the armistice, intervention of the admirals of England and France (September, 1827), and battle of Navarino (October 20), in which the allied fleets destroy that of Ibrahim Pasha.
8. The ambassadors of the three powers leave Constantinople (December 8, 1827). Weakness of Wellington in not pursuing Canning's policy.

IV.—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE.

1. Expulsion of Christians from Constantinople and declaration of war by Russia (April 26, 1828), which agrees to confine its operations to the Black Sea and to act under the Treaty of London in Greece. Delicacy of the campaign of 1828 on account of Austria and England.
2. The second Treaty of London (July 19, 1828) charges France with the duty of expelling Ibrahim from the Morea. On August 29 14,000 French troops take possession, and on September 7 a convention is signed by the Russian, English, and French admirals with Ibrahim's representative arranging the evacuation of the Morea. Greece is saved.
3. The Russian invasion of Turkey is terminated by the Treaty of Adrianople (September 14, 1829): (1) The Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia become rulers for life instead of for seven years, under the suzerainty of the Porte, but with the protection of Russia; (2) no Mussulman is to reside in these provinces; (3) no fortified post is to be maintained by Turkey on the left bank of the Danube;

- (4) the navigation of the Black Sea and the Dardanelles is declared free to all powers at peace with the Porte ;
(5) an indemnity in money is promised to Russia, to be fixed by subsequent agreement, which gives Russia a pretext for interference at any time.
4. In April, 1827, Capo d'Istria had accepted a call to be President of Greece for seven years. His visit to the courts of Europe. Russia demands personal rather than popular government, and that Greece remain tributary to the Sultan. Capo d'Istria desires independence, but believes in strong government.
 5. The powers desire a Greek monarchy. Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, widower of Charlotte, daughter of George IV, accepts the Greek crown (February 11, 1830). Capo d'Istria dissuades him. Leopold renounces the crown (May, 1830). Despotism of Capo d'Istria. His assassination (October 9, 1831).
 6. The Treaty of Constantinople (July 21, 1832) fixes the frontier of Greece, the indemnity to be paid for certain districts, and makes peace with Turkey. It is signed by England, France, Russia, and Turkey.
 7. On August 30, 1832, the Powers issue a proclamation to the Greek people announcing their independence and presenting as their King Prince Otho of Bavaria, who is sent to reign over the new Kingdom of Greece at Athens, on February 1, 1833.

3. During the winter 1829-1830, Polignac conducted secret negotiations to realize these plans.
4. Allying as an excuse the insult offered to the French consul, Deval, in 1827, by the Dey of Algiers, the conquest of Algiers was undertaken (May, 1830), notwithstanding the opposition of England.
5. Prorogation of the French Chambers and request of the Lower House that the King dismiss his ministers (March, 1830). Adverse elections (June) and Polignac's recommendation to suspend the Constitution. Promulgation of the Ordinances (July 26) and beginning of the revolution (July 27).
6. Louis Philippe made "King of the French" (August 7).
7. The hand of Talleyrand.
8. New friendship of France and England.

II.—THE REVOLUTION IN BELGIUM.

1. The revolution, spreading from France, soon becomes serious in Belgium, which revolts against union with Holland by insurrection at Brussels (August 25, 1830).
2. The Belgians institute a provisional government and call a national assembly (October 4).
3. The danger is greater, as the clubs and journals of Paris proclaim the rights of independence.
4. The King of the Netherlands, having failed to subdue the Belgians by force, appeals to the four great powers which in 1814 assured him possession of the country. Russia cannot offer immediate aid. Austria is absorbed in Italy. Prussia responds, but Molé, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, threatens to send troops if Prussia invades Belgium, and maintains the principle of non-intervention.
5. Talleyrand, ambassador at London, declares that France will submit to the regulation of Belgian affairs by the five great powers, and a conference of the resident ambassa-

dors of the five powers is called at London (October, 1830), and in a protocol of November 4 an armistice is proposed. The legitimacy of the insurrection is thus recognized.

6. A Whig ministry, headed by Lord Grey, succeeds that of Wellington (November 20), with Lord Palmerston as Minister for Foreign Affairs in place of Lord Aberdeen. William IV had become King in place of George IV (June 26, 1830).
7. A national congress meets in Brussels on November 10 and solemnly proclaims the independence of Belgium on November 18. On the 22d it formally excludes the house of Orange-Nassau from the throne.
8. Metternich reconstitutes the triple alliance—Austria, Prussia, and Russia—which issues a circular affirming the right to police Europe and by force of arms to destroy the common enemy, the revolution (December, 1830). Troops are mobilized.

III.—THE REVOLUTION IN POLAND.

1. The concentration of intervention upon Belgium, which France is pledged to prevent, is averted by the revolution in Poland. Insurrection breaks out in Warsaw, and Constantine, brother of Nicholas I, is compelled to flight (November, 1830).
2. General Chlopicki is declared dictator (December 5), and the Russian troops are driven out. The attempt to renew the Holy Alliance is paralyzed.
3. The conference at London recognizes the independence of Belgium (December 20) and imposes an armistice on the King of the Netherlands (January 9, 1831).
4. Louis Philippe sends the Duke de Mortemart to St. Petersburg as ambassador to assure the Czar that the Poles will receive no aid from France (January, 1831).
5. The Treaty of London, known as "The Eighteen Articles," is signed by Austria, England, France, Prussia, and Russia (January 26, 1831), providing (1) that Holland shall

be reduced to the limits of 1790, and Belgium shall comprehend the rest of the Kingdom of the Netherlands; (2) the rivers shall be open for free navigation in both states; (3) Belgium shall form an independent state, to be perpetually *neutralized*.

6. By a protocol of January 27 the debt of the Netherlands is to be divided into 31 parts, of which Belgium is to pay 16-
7. The Belgian Congress elects the Duke of Nemours, son of Louis Philippe, as king by a majority of one (February 3, 1831), but Louis Philippe, affected by Palmerston's attitude, feels compelled to refuse the crown for his son (February 7).
8. The congress elects Leopold of Saxe-Coburg king (June 4), who accepts the crown and enters Brussels July 21.
9. The Dutch troops, 70,000 strong, march to oppose Leopold (August 2), who appeals to France and England, and is saved by the French army and the English fleet.
10. Poland, abandoned by France and England, is invaded and overwhelmed by Russia (January-June, 1831).

IV.—THE REVOLUTION BECOMES EUROPEAN.

1. In England the revolution of July in Paris had been greeted with joy by the people, and there were riots in London. Lord Grey's policy of parliamentary reform becomes triumphant; the Reform Bill (1832).
2. In Italy Carbonarism is revived, and revolution breaks out in Modena, Parma, and the States of the Church, but Naples and Piedmont are too completely under the yoke to rise. Mazzini organizes "Young Italy" and "Young Europe." Austria crushes the insurrections by force.
3. In Switzerland the democracy rises against the ancient oligarchical rule, and important constitutional gains are made by the people.
4. In Germany the *Tugendbund* and *Burschenschaft* are revived, and constitutional changes are demanded and in part secured in Brunswick, Hesse, Saxony, and Hanover.

5. By the Treaty of London, called "The Twenty-four Articles" (November 15, 1831), the five powers make a new territorial arrangement for Belgium, by which Holland is required to cede a part of Luxemburg to Belgium, retaining the remainder and receiving as indemnity a part of Limburg. The King of the Netherlands protests against this, but the powers insist.
6. Leopold I of Belgium marries the Princess Louise, daughter of Louis Philippe (1832).
7. The Hamburg Festival (May 27, 1832); demand for a confederation of republican Europe; revival of absolutism by the Diet at Frankfort and repression of the "demagogues."
8. The Treaty of London (May 21, 1833) concludes the peace between France, England, and Holland after an invasion of Belgium to expel the Dutch king: (1) The King of Holland engages not to commence hostilities against Belgium; (2) the Escaut and the Meuse will be open to navigation; and (3) the contracting parties agree to conclude a definitive treaty fixing the relations between Belgium and Holland. King William does not fully accept the requirements of the Powers regarding Belgium until 1838.
9. The recognition of Louis Philippe a repudiation of the principle of "legitimacy."
10. By the separation of France and England from the absolute powers the system of Metternich is practically dissolved.

5. In Portugal the same situation arises, Queen Maria representing constitutionalism, Don Miguel absolutism.
6. Palmerston advises the governments of the two queens to unite in an alliance with England and with each other, and Talleyrand joins France to this combination, thus forming the Quadruple Alliance (April 22, 1834), to offset the absolutist league of Russia, Austria, and Prussia.
7. The two pretenders are driven out of Portugal by an English fleet and a Spanish army without the active military aid of France, which England did not desire. The absolutist league lends no active support to the pretenders.
8. The Carlist war is renewed and continued (1834-1839).

II.—THE PRETENSIONS OF MEHEMET-ALI.

1. Mehemet-Ali, Pasha of Egypt, who had aided the Sultan Mahmoud against the Greeks, claimed the government of Syria, promised to him for his assistance, and after waiting three years, decided to take possession (1831).
2. The action of Mehemet-Ali developed (1) the support of France, which regarded him as a friend and regenerator of the Ottoman Empire; (2) the opposition of Russia, which considered itself the protector of the Empire and furnished the Sultan 15,000 troops, and (3) the interference of England, for Palmerston believed in maintaining the integrity of the Empire and feared the intrusion of Russia.
3. The united efforts of England and France result in the retreat of the Russian fleet and the establishment of Mehemet-Ali in Syria as governor under the Sultan.
4. Russia, however, receives as its reward the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi (July 8, 1833), which establishes a Russian protectorate and closes the Dardanelles to all foreign ships when Russia is at war. The protest of the Western Powers follows.

5. The Eastern Powers—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—disturbed by the interventions of England and France and by the agitations of revolutionists, arrange an interview of the monarchs at Munchengraetz (September, 1833), which results in the secret Treaty of Berlin (October 15, 1833), by which they revive the doctrine of intervention of 1820.

III.—THE ALIENATION OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

1. Louis Philippe, becoming more pronounced in his monarchical ambition, wishes to draw closer to the absolute sovereigns and to relieve himself of control by English liberalism.
2. Louis makes overtures to Prussia and Austria by sending his son, the Duke of Orleans, to seek a wife in these courts. Cold reception in Austria. The Duke, repelled higher up, takes as a wife Helen of Mecklenburg (May 30, 1837).
3. England is aware of the estrangement of Louis Philippe, but Palmerston, restored to the foreign office after the vain efforts of Wellington and Pitt to form a Tory Ministry (December, 1834–April, 1835), endeavors to show France the need of England's friendship by obstructing its plans, particularly in Spain.
4. Louis Bonaparte, expelled from Switzerland, is allowed to take up his residence in London (1838).
5. Lord Ponsonby induces the Sultan to demand that Louis Philippe recognize the Ottoman suzerainty over Algiers (August, 1838).
6. Sir Henry Bulwer induces the Sultan to conclude a favorable treaty of commerce with England and prepares to occupy Aden and secure advantages for possessing the isthmus of Suez (1838).
7. The conference on the affairs of Belgium reopens in London (1838), and Louis Philippe is compelled to ratify the final

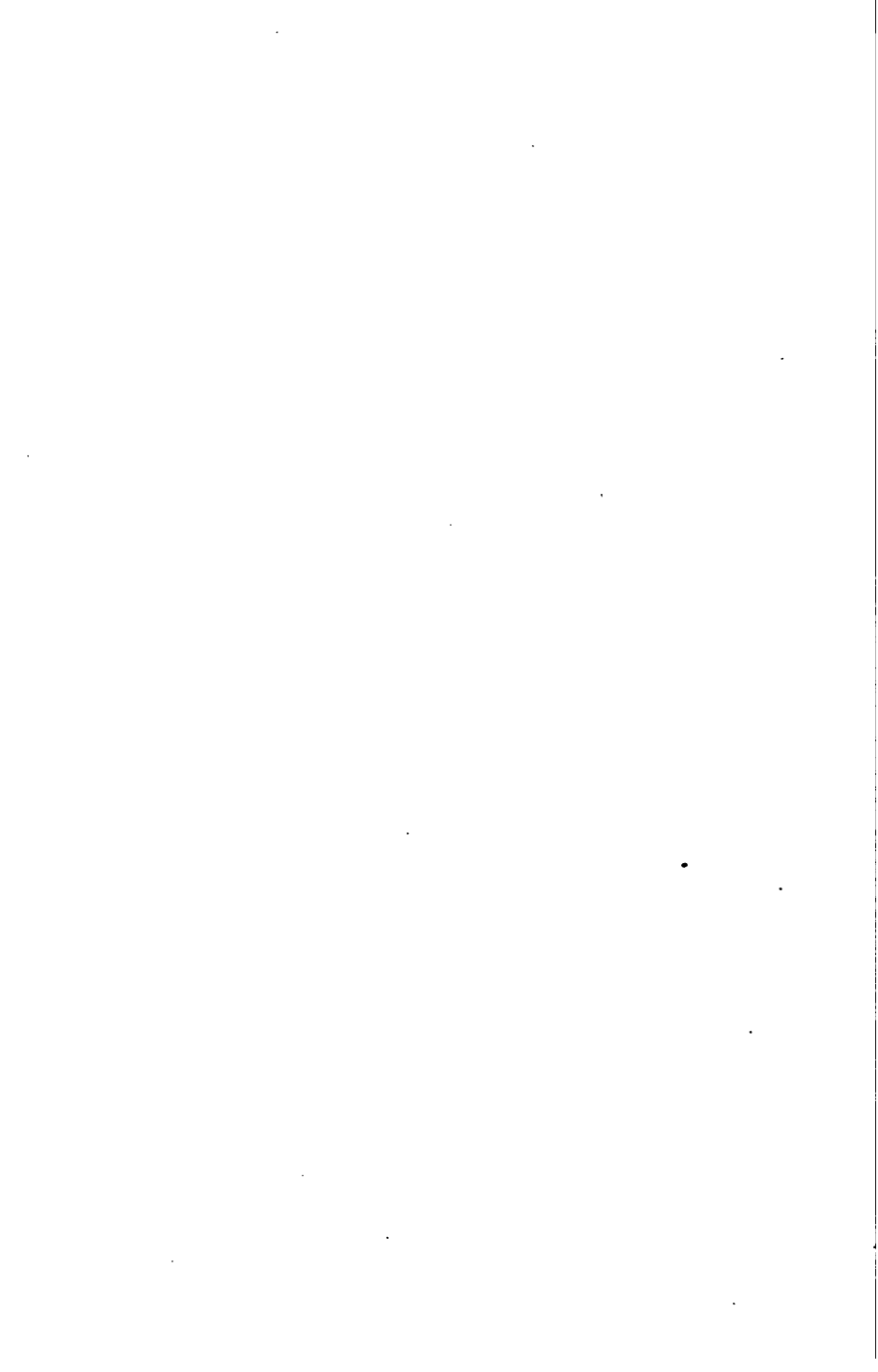
arrangements, which he opposes, including the erection of Luxemburg as an independent state for the safety of Prussia (April, 1839).

8. The foreign policy of Louis Philippe becomes unpopular in France and riots break out in Paris (May 12, 1839).
9. The reopening of the Eastern question concludes the estrangement.

IV.—THE CRISIS IN THE ORIENT.

1. Mahmoud, never reconciled to his concessions to Mehemet-Ali in Syria, resolves to dispossess him, and the Sultan moves his army into Syria against him (April-June, 1839).
2. Russia regards itself as sole protector of the Sultan and is about to assert its rights as such. England proposes joint action with France in sending their fleets through the Dardanelles. Austria desires a conference to substitute the collective guarantee of Europe for the exclusive Russian protectorate (May, 1839). France, friendly to Mehemet-Ali, hesitates to oppose him. Nicholas I wishes to recognize no authority over Turkey but his own.
3. Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet-Ali, attacks and defeats the Turkish army in Syria (June 24); Mahmood dies at Constantinople (June 30); Achmet, hostile to the Grand Vizier, Chrosrew, mutinies with the entire Turkish fleet (July 4).
4. A joint note prepared by Metternich is sent to the Turkish government, signed by the ambassadors of the five Powers, requesting the Sublime Porte to abstain from final action without their concurrence (July 27, 1839). *This act places Turkey under the collective tutelage of Europe.*
5. England proposes to strip Mehemet-Ali of his conquests. France resists this proposition and claims for him hereditary possession of all his territories (August-September).
6. Russia, desiring to isolate France, now worshipping the remains of Napoleon, proposes to support the position of England and to renounce the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.

7. The diplomatic duel of Palmerston and Thiers.
8. By a treaty signed by England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia with the new Sultan, Abdul-Medjid (July 15, 1840), *without the participation of France*, the four Powers agree to enforce a plan by which Mehemet-Ali may accept within ten days the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt, with a life title as Pasha of Acre, and the administration of southern Syria, paying tribute to the Sultan and restoring his fleet. The Pasha refuses, Lord Napier bombards and almost destroys his forts, and France is wild with excitement.
9. Thiers is superseded as foreign minister by Guizot (October 20, 1840).
10. Mehemet-Ali having finally accepted the hereditary possession of Egypt without Syria, the crisis ends with the Treaty of London, called "The Convention of the Straits" (July 31, 1841), signed by England, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, by which the Sultan closes the straits to foreign vessels of war, the Powers agreeing to respect this rule.
11. The Eastern crisis is ended, but the Eastern question still remains unsolved.
12. To Russia's purpose to control and finally absorb the Ottoman Empire is opposed England's determination to prevent that control and defeat that absorption.



COURSE IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

Lecture XXVII.—THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 AND ITS INTERNATIONAL RESULTS.

1. "The era of good feeling" between the French and English governments under the ministries of Guizot and Aberdeen (1841-1845). Exchanges of royal visits.
2. Popular hostility in spite of governmental harmony between France and England on account of the English insistence on the right of search and the tariff union between France, Belgium, and Switzerland.
3. Visit of Nicholas I to England (1844) to dispose of "the sick man" at Constantinople.
4. The Spanish marriages, restoration of Palmerston (June, 1846), and end of the friendship between France and England.
5. Absorption of the Republic of Cracow by Austria (1846-1847) with consent of Prussia and Russia, which receive in return parts of Galicia.
6. England, though isolated, intervenes in Portugal, Italy, and Switzerland (1847-1848).

I.—THE GENERAL OUTBURST OF REVOLUTION.

1. All Western Europe ripe for revolution.
2. Growing pretensions of Louis Philippe and hatred of the Guizot ministry. The reform banquets (1847) and their suppression (February, 1848). The revolution of February.
3. Spontaneous revolutionary movement throughout Europe, except in England, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, and Russia; for electoral reform in Belgium, Holland, and Denmark; for national reorganization in Hungary, Bo-

hemia, and Schleswig-Holstein ; for constitutional reform and national unity in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.

4. The estates of Austria convene (March 13). Insurrection in the streets of Vienna to the cry "Down with Metternich." The Emperor Ferdinand IV in concealment. Bohemia and Hungary in full revolt. Promise of a constitution proclaimed (April 25).
5. Italy in commotion. Radetzki forced to evacuate Milan (March 18). Daniel Manin made chief of the Republic of St. Mark at Venice. Rome and Florence aspiring to become republics. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, enters Milan (March 26) to support the revolution.
6. In Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Saxony the fall of Metternich is hailed with joy and the people proclaim their grievances.
7. In Prussia Frederick William IV (who came to the throne June 7, 1840) decides (March 18) to issue a royal edict announcing that the King favors constitutions for all the German states and a general parliament.
8. The German reunion at Frankfort (May 18) to formulate a constitution and call for a national assembly.
9. France, become a republic, is regarded as a support for republicanism elsewhere, notwithstanding the declaration of Lamartine that France does not intend aggression against any other government (March 5). Struggle between the Republicans and Socialists. Election of Louis Bonaparte as President of the French Republic (December 10, 1848), with 5,400,000 votes, against 1,400,000 for Cavaignac, Republican, and 370,000 for Ledru-Rollin, Socialist.

II. THE REACTION TOWARD ABSOLUTISM.

1. Prince Schwartzberg becomes prime minister and practical ruler of Austria (November 21, 1848).
2. A constitution is granted by Austria (March 4, 1849), but is never applied, and is finally declared abrogated by imperial decree.

3. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, who has aided the Italian revolution, abdicates in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel, and the intercession of France and England procures an armistice (March 26, 1849), which permits Austria to occupy a part of Sardinian territory.
4. Hungary proclaims its independence, with Kossuth as dictator (April 14), but a Russian army comes to the aid of Austria (May) and the Hungarians are soon subdued.
5. Prussia aspires to the leadership of the German states, and the National Assembly at Frankfort adopts an imperial constitution and elects Frederick William IV Emperor (March 23), but Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover rejecting the constitution, the King of Prussia declines the imperial crown (April 28, 1849). The assembly dwindles to 105 members, is removed to Stuttgart (May 30), and is finally dispersed by the police (June 19).
6. The King of Prussia, declining the imperial crown from the assembly, professing to believe it should be conferred by the princes, puts down insurrection by force, not only in Prussia, but in Saxony and Hanover (May, 1849), by request of their kings.

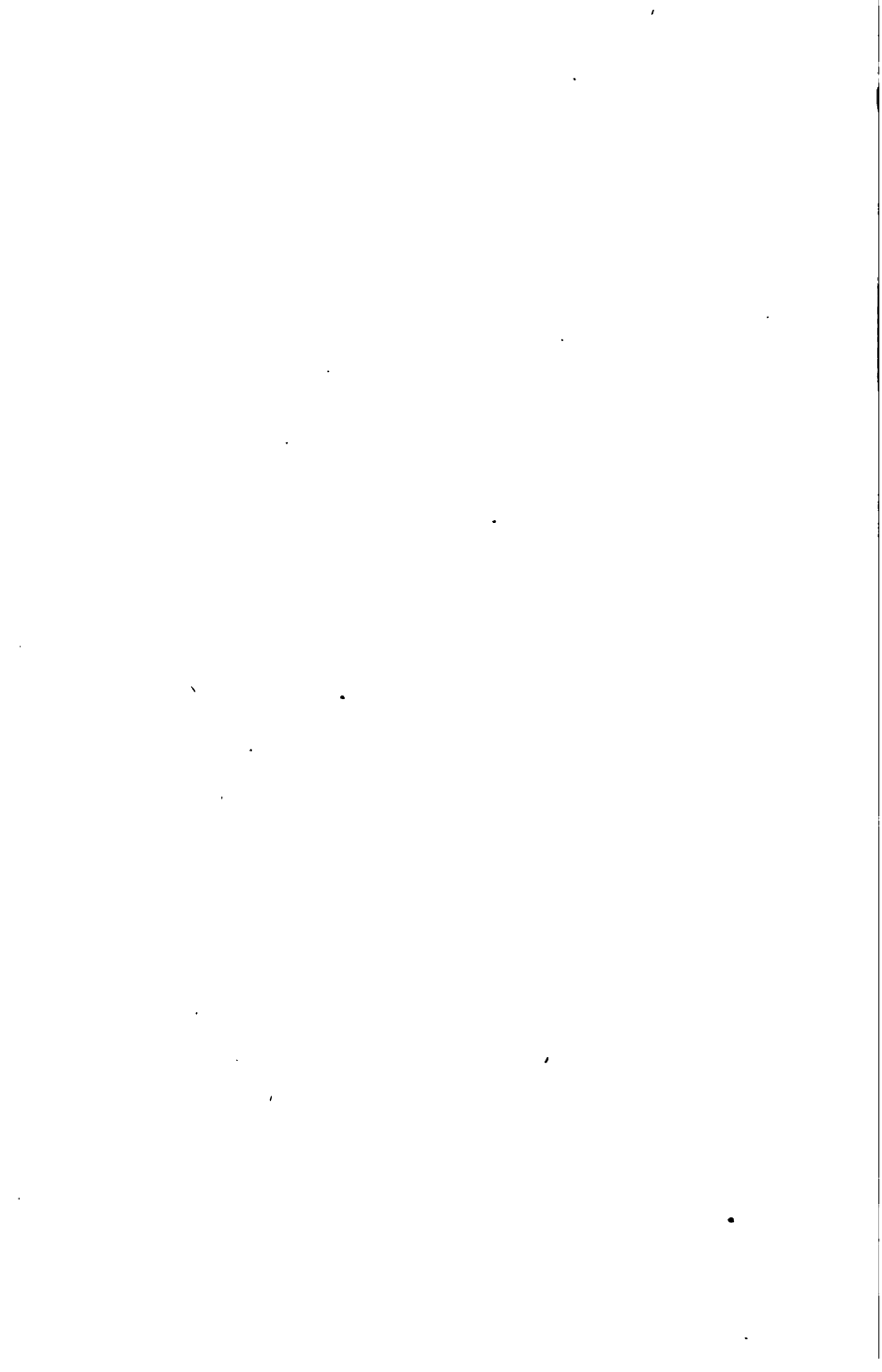
III.—AUSTRIA'S CHECK ON THE AMBITIONS OF PRUSSIA.

1. The Treaty of the Three Kings (May 26, 1849) is the reward of Frederick William IV for his services to Saxony and Hanover, their kings forming an alliance with him, the nucleus of an imperial programme.
2. The troops of Frederick William repress the democratic rising in Baden (June, 1849).
3. France, not desiring Austria to control all Italy, intervenes at Rome to reestablish the Pope, and, though intending to preserve liberal institutions, overthrows Mazzini's republic by its army (June 29, 1849). Attitude of Pope Pius IX.
4. By the mediation of France and England Sardinia is restored to Victor Emmanuel upon payment of an indemnity to Austria (August 6, 1849).

5. Austria, now rid of preoccupation in Italy and Hungary, turns its attention to the Prussian Union created by the alliance of the Three Kings, which reproduced essentially the constitution of Frankfort on a monarchical basis and is augmented by the adherence of 28 members, chiefly small states. The Kings of Württemberg and Bavaria refuse to join.
6. Schwartzemberg desires to reconstitute the Germanic Confederation with Austria prepondering in the Diet, and proposes a convention instituting a mixed commission of four, two appointed by Austria and two by Prussia, to conduct affairs *ad interim*.
7. Supported by Russia, Austria intimidates Prussia, and Frederick William IV yields to Austria's plans by a treaty (September 30, 1849) with Francis Joseph (who came to the throne in 1848) instituting the commission, and all the other states adhere (October–November). Austria thus represents the leadership of opposition to Prussian ambition.
8. The adherence to the treaty of the Three Kings now dissolves in spite of Prussia's protests.
9. Project of von Beust to combine the secondary states with Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, etc., as a balance of power against both Austria and Prussia and treaty between Saxony and Bavaria for this purpose (February 27, 1850).
10. Failure of the reunion at Erfurt, called by Prussia to frame a constitution (March 20, 1850) by absence of the representatives expected.
11. Antagonism of Prussia and Austria over the reunion called by Austria at Frankfort (April 26, 1850).
12. Defeat of Prussia in the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein and Hesse and humiliating agreement at Olmütz (November 29, 1850) by which Frederick William IV renounces the Prussian Union and yields entirely to the wishes of Austria.

IV.—PRUSSIA'S COUNTERPOISE TO AUSTRIA.

1. The reunion for revising the German constitution is transferred from Frankfort to Dresden (December 23, 1850) to please Prussia, which leads an opposition to Schwartzberg's plan for Austrian preponderance.
2. Austria strives to exclude from the future Diet all the smaller states, the clients of Prussia, and to place all the power in the hands of eight states, Austria holding the presidency and the majority being under its influence.
3. Effort of Austria to introduce into the Confederation its Italian and Slavic states.
4. France, by a manifesto addressed to the other powers (March 5, 1851), becomes the advocate of the treaties of 1815, which have fixed the constitution of the Confederation, and opposes the destruction of the European equilibrium by the plans of Austria. Russia and England join in a protest against change.
5. The conference at Dresden is closed (May 15, 1851) with the defeat of Austria's designs.
6. The old *Bundestag* resumes its sessions at Frankfort (May 30, 1851). Schwartzberg again tries to secure the incorporation of the non-German states of Austria in the Confederation, but fails.
7. Austria succeeds, however, in destroying the work of the German Parliament of 1848 by abolishing the fundamental rights proclaimed by that body (August 23, 1851). Metternich, returning from exile, rejoices in the restoration of absolutism and the suspension of the constitution of 1849 in Austria, but is not restored to power.
8. Crisis of the Zollverein (April–September, 1852).



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Lecture XXVIII.—THE REVIVAL OF FRENCH INFLUENCE AND THE CONGRESS OF PARIS.

1. The Revolution of 1848 had reawakened the national aspirations of Italy and Germany, cruelly suppressed by the intervention of absolutism.
2. Louis Bonaparte, a professed believer in the principle of nationality, makes his first *coup d'état* December 2, 1851, by which he is reëlected President of the French Republic for ten years with almost absolute power.
3. In the balance between the established interests and the progressive movements France enters upon a new career of international preponderance.

I.—REOPENING OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

1. Reforms of Abdul-Medjid in the Ottoman Empire projected by Reschid Pasha. Antagonism of "Old Turkey" and "Young Turkey." Disposition of Nicholas I to intervene (1841-1848).
2. Russia and Austria combine to enforce upon Turkey the delivery of the revolutionary refugees of 1848, but England and France sustain the Sultan in refusing, and Nicholas I withdraws his army beyond the Pruth (1849-1851).
3. Reschid carries his reforms into the Balkan provinces and enforces them upon Abbas Pasha, successor of Mehemet-Ali, in Egypt (May, 1852).
4. Nicholas I foments insurrection in Montenegro, where the ecclesiastical ruler attempts to set up a dynasty (February, 1852). The Sultan sends an army to subdue him, and Austria endeavors to moderate the Turks.
5. Quarrel of France and Russia over their rights in the holy places in Palestine and the right of protection over Chris-

tians. Firman of February 9, 1852, in favor of France, its temporary repudiation, and the reestablishment of French influence. Hostility of Russia.

6. *Coup d'état* by which Louis Bonaparte becomes Napoleon III (December 2, 1852) and attitude of the powers toward him. Russia's dislike, but final recognition. Napoleon III needs a war to establish his prestige.
7. Mission of Menchikoff to Constantinople, massing of Russian troops on the Pruth and naval movements (February, 1853).
8. Nicholas I, relying upon the neutrality of Austria and Prussia, tries to appease England by offering Egypt and Cyprus to England under the pacific ministry of Lord Aberdeen, with Lord Clarendon in the foreign office, hoping to receive Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, and Bulgaria for Russia, with Constantinople to be held as a pledge. Nicholas does not fear France alone and again advances the theory of the "sick man."
9. Menchikoff issues an ultimatum (May 5) demanding of the Sultan the Russian protection of the Greek Church, with its temporal privileges accorded and a close alliance. England and France, aware of his intention, though veiled by secrecy, coöperate to defeat him. The Sultan, Reschid Pasha, now restored to the foreign office, rejects the ultimatum (May 20) and Menchikoff departs. Nesselrode issues a new ultimatum (May 31), threatening to seize Moldavia and Wallachia.
10. England and France send fleets (June 1-3) prepared to enter the Dardanelles. The Sultan publishes a *hatti-sheriff* assuring full religious liberty in his empire (June 6); but, ignoring a proposition for a general European conference, Nicholas I takes possession of Moldavia and Wallachia (July 4, 1853).
11. Embarrassed situation of Austria, the conferences at Vienna in the interest of peace, the obstinacy of Russia and Turkey's declaration of war (October 4, 1853).

II.—THE CRIMEAN WAR AND AUSTRIA'S HESITATION.

1. Efforts of Nicholas I to arouse Greece and Persia to conflict with the Sultan and to secure the favorable neutrality of Austria and Prussia (October–December, 1853).
2. Lord Aberdeen fails to restrain England from extremes in support of Turkey, and the fleets of England and France, already at the entrance of the Dardanelles in June and in the Bosphorus in September, threaten to take possession of the Black Sea (December 27, 1853).
3. The Conference at Vienna adopts a protocol (April 9, 1854) proposing, on behalf of England, France, Austria, and Prussia, an arrangement on the following conditions: (1) The integrity of the Turkish Empire; (2) the evacuation of the principalities by the Russians; (3) the independence of the Sultan, with free grant by him of the liberties of his Christian subjects; (4) necessary guarantees to regulate the political relations of Turkey for the preservation of the European equilibrium.
4. Austria hesitates to move, and Prussia is even more conservative, but England and France, after Nicholas I has refused to evacuate, unite with Turkey (April 10) in a convention not to make peace with Russia separately until the Russian evacuation is secured.
5. The military aid of Austria is important to success against Russia, but Buol is restrained by Prussia, where Bismarck's influence is now beginning to be felt. Qualified agreement between Austria and Prussia (April 20, 1854).
6. Russia is forced to evacuate the principalities (June), and Austria, under a treaty with the Porte, holds them subject to final settlement while the siege of Sebastopol is prosecuted.
7. By the notes of August 2, 1854, Austria seems to join with the allies to press the war, but finds means of procrastination. These notes agree on placing the principalities under the collective protection of Europe and the abandonment of Russia's protection over all subjects of Turkey.

8. Austria confirms the arrangement of the notes of August 2 with France and England by treaty (December 2, 1854), agreeing not to make a separate peace with Russia, and to defend the principalities.
9. Sardinia, following the plans of Cavour, joins the alliance against Russia (January 26, 1855).
10. Palmerston succeeds Lord Aberdeen and gives new vigor to the war (February, 1855).
11. Prussia strives to restrain Austria and seems to menace France (January-February, 1855).
12. Nicholas I dies (March 2) and is succeeded by Alexander II. Failure of the conference at Vienna (April-June, 1855). Austria commences to recede from her allies (July-August).
13. Fall of Sebastopol (September 8, 1855). France disposed to peace. Tenacity of England. Alliance of Sweden with France and England (November 21, 1855). Distress of Austria over the reception of Victor Emmanuel and Cavour at Paris. Ultimatum of England, France, and Austria (December 16), which Alexander II at first refuses to accept (January 5, 1856), but finally is induced, under the influence of Prussia, to adopt as a basis of peace (January 16). A general congress is agreed to.

III.—THE CONGRESS OF PARIS.

1. The Congress of Paris convenes February 25, 1856.
2. Sardinia is admitted, but Prussia is excluded until, by the favor of France, it is admitted when the business is over (March 18).
3. The final act of the Congress (March 30, 1856) stipulates:
(1) The admission of the Sublime Porte to the advantages of the public law and the concert of Europe; (2) the engagement of the signers to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, every infraction of these to be regarded as a matter of Euro-

pean interest; (3) the concert of Europe is to be invoked before the resort to force; (4) the convention of 1841 closing the straits is confirmed; (5) the Black Sea is neutralized and no arsenals are to be maintained in its ports; (6) the Danube is opened to free navigation; (7) the Russian frontier is rectified by adding a part of Bessarabia to Moldavia; (8) Moldavia and Wallachia—the proposition to unite them into one state having failed—are placed under the suzerainty of the Porte with the guarantee of the powers.

4. Correlative to these stipulations the Sultan issues a firman according and guaranteeing their respective rights to all his subjects, and great reforms are expected (February 18, 1856).
5. In a treaty of April 16, 1856, the Congress formulates the following principles: (1) Abolition of privateering; (2) a neutral flag covers an enemy's merchandise, except contraband of war; (3) neutral merchandise is not subject to seizure, except contraband of war, even under the enemy's flag; (4) blockades are not obligatory unless effective; (5) resort to the good offices of a friendly power is desirable before the appeal to arms.
6. General results: Russia has lost all the gains of the century in the East; Austria is isolated and disliked; France and England are partly alienated; Prussia is in the way of recuperation; Sardinia has succeeded in winning friends and in raising the Italian question.

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Lecture **XXIX**.—THE STRUGGLE FOR ITALIAN UNITY AND THE DEFEATS OF AUSTRIA.

1. Passion of Napoleon III for the principle of nationality. Europe to be a group of independent emancipated races.
2. Predilections of Napoleon III for Italy. Character, purposes, and influence of Cavour. Napoleon's dislike of Austria.
3. Condition of Italy: Ferdinand II of Naples (King Bomba); influence of Cardinal Antonelli on Pius IX; the Austrian domination; Sardinia the hope of Italy.

I.—THE POLICY OF NAPOLEON III TOWARD EUROPE.

1. Importance of isolating Austria as a preliminary to the liberation of Italy.
2. Diplomatic rupture of Austria with Sardinia on occasion of Francis Joseph's visit to Italy (December, 1856).
3. The affair of Neuchâtel and Napoleon III's friendly intervention in behalf of Prussia (March 5, 1857). Bismarck advises Frederick William IV, who distrusts the French, to an *entente* with France.
4. The resignation of Nesselrode and advent of Gortchakoff, who dislikes Austria, and Napoleon III's friendly approaches to Alexander II. The Roumanian question. Russia sees an advantage in the idea of nationality as applied to the Danubian principalities.
5. The *rapprochement* of France, Prussia, and Russia seeming to threaten the Porte, England joins Austria in opposing the union of Moldavia and Wallachia.
6. Meeting of Napoleon III and Alexander II. Napoleon to support Russia in the Roumanian affair, Alexander not

to interfere with French policy in Italy. The French and the Russian ambassadors leave Constantinople (August 6, 1857).

7. Indisposition of France and England for war with each other. Visit of Napoleon III at Osborne House (August 6, 1857). Programme of Napoleon: (1) division of northern Africa; (2) coöperation of France and England in China; (3) moderation in the Danubian provinces.
8. Frederick William IV is superseded by his brother William as regent in Prussia (October, 1857).

II.—THE SECRET DIPLOMACY OF NAPOLEON III.

1. Orsini's attempt on Napoleon's life (January 14, 1858) and the Emperor's dread of Italian plots. He is strengthened in his purpose to attack Austria through Italy.
2. Fall of Palmerston's ministry (February 19, 1858) on account of the bill "Conspiracy to Murder," which is received as the evidence that England is bullied by Napoleon.
3. The interview of Napoleon and Cavour at Plombières (July 20, 1858) and the conspiracy for an attack on Austria, Sardinia to take Northern Italy and France to receive Savoy and Nice.
4. Preliminary efforts to prepare the way; the Danish question; the Roumanian question.
5. Effectual union of Moldavia and Wallachia by the device of separate states in alliance with a central commission for their common interests. The scheme is completed by the election of the same prince, Colonel Couza (January-February, 1859). Servia demands the abdication of Karageorgewitch (December 24, 1858) and elects Miloch Obrenowitch as prince, substituting Russian for Austro-Turkish influence.
6. Efforts of France and Sardinia, prepared to attack Austria, to induce Austria to declare war, and ineffectual attempts of England to settle the Italian question without war. Russia proposes a congress that never meets.

7. Austria, foreseeing the designs of France and Sardinia, endeavors vainly to enlist Prussia, and, relying on the benevolent neutrality of England, if an alliance cannot be attained, sends an ultimatum to Sardinia demanding disarmament (April 23, 1859). Cavour refuses, and war follows.
8. France announces to Europe that it will not abandon Sardinia to an unjust attack (April 26); but in spite of England's endeavors under the ministry of Lord Derby to secure peace, the Austrian troops cross the Tessin (April 29). France declares war (May 3, 1859).

III.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.

1. Austria is defeated at Magenta (June 4) and at Solferino (June 24) with immense losses.
2. The Peace of Zurich (November 10, 1859): (1) Sardinia obtains Lombardy; (2) the dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena are restored to their states; (3) the formation of a confederation of the Italian states under the Pope is agreed upon; (4) Austria is stripped of everything in Italy except Venetia.
3. Dilemma of Napoleon III: If he sustains the Pope and restores the princes, he satisfies neither Sardinian nor Italian aspirations; if he overthrows the Pope's temporal power and expels the princes, he offends the Catholic party and the advocates of legitimacy. Indecision and compromise.
4. The treaty of Turin (March 24, 1860), by which Sardinia cedes Savoy and Nice to France. The Emperor of the French takes *pourboire*!
5. Operations of Garibaldi in Sicily and Naples (May–September, 1860), with secret aid of Sardinia; expulsion of Francis II (successor of Ferdinand II); effort of Cavour to secure the withdrawal of French troops from Rome, and recall of the French minister.

6. Entry of the Sardinian army into the Kingdom of Naples, and withdrawal of Garibaldi, who delivers the power to Victor Emmanuel (November 7, 1860). England compels the departure of the French fleet (January, 1861), and Naples capitulates (February 13). The Parliament at Turin proclaims Victor Emmanuel "King of Italy" (February 18). Death of Cavour (June 6, 1861).
7. Napoleon III engages that the French will evacuate Rome in 1866, and Victor Emmanuel promises not to attack the States of the Church (September 15, 1864). Florence becomes the temporary capital of Italy.

IV.—THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DANISH DUCHIES AND THE HUMILIATION OF AUSTRIA.

1. In Austria provincial diets are established by Francis Joseph (October 20, 1860), and a constitution is granted with a bicameral legislature and a responsible ministry (February 26, 1861), by which his popularity is strengthened.
2. Formation of the *National Verein* and meeting of a congress at Frankfort under Austrian auspices (August 16, 1863), which Prussia refuses to attend.
3. William I, regent, becomes King of Prussia (January 2, 1861). Contest of the royal and the legislative power. Bismarck assumes direction of affairs. Ambitions of Prussia and hostility to Austria.
4. The Schleswig-Holstein question reopened. The treaty of London (May 8, 1852) had assigned the throne of Frederick VII of Denmark to Christian of Glücksburg and obtained from the Duke of Augustenburg a renunciation for a price. In 1863 Frederick VII dies and Christian IX ascends the throne. Christian publishes a law completely incorporating Schleswig with Denmark (November 18, 1863) and giving Holstein a particular administration under the Danish ministry. The German Diet intervenes in behalf of Holstein, and Christian resists the army of execution sent by the Diet.

5. Prussia and Austria form an alliance to supersede the act of execution by the Diet. The Danes are driven out and lose the duchies which are ceded to Prussia and Austria (October 30, 1864).
6. Treaty of Gastein (August 14, 1865), by which the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg are repudiated, Austria administering Holstein and Prussia Schleswig, Kiel becoming a federal port.
7. Dispute over the Treaty of Gastein (January-March, 1866), the German governments (Bavaria, Saxony, etc.) siding with Austria.
8. Secret alliance of Prussia with Italy (April 8, 1866) and war against Austria by the allies. Holding their ground in Italy, the Austrians are defeated in Bohemia, at Sadowa (July 3). The Prussians enter Frankfort and the Diet flees to Augsburg (July 18).
9. Austria cedes Venetia to Napoleon III, hoping for his intervention and mediation, and thinking thus to save it from going to Italy.
10. The Peace of Prague (August 24, 1866): (1) Venetia is added to the Kingdom of Italy; (2) all the rights of Austria in the Danish duchies are transferred to Prussia; (3) an indemnity of 20 million thalers is imposed on Austria; (4) the Germanic Confederation is dissolved and Prussia is to establish a new confederation excluding Austria.



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Lecture XXX.—THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY.

1. Prussia annexes Hanover, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, Frankfort, and Schleswig-Holstein, and imposes a money indemnity on Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden for their participation in the war of 1866. Formation by Prussia of the North German Confederation (1866).
2. France is humiliated by her failure to secure some annexations from Germany in 1866, which Napoleon believed to be promised him by Bismarck at Biarritz in October, 1865; by the expulsion of the French army from Mexico and the overthrow of Maximilian's empire (1867), and by Bismarck's prevention of the purchase of Luxemburg from Holland (1867). Napoleon's bitter hostility to Prussia.
3. Austria, defeated and repressed, undergoes internal reorganization by the recognition of Hungarian autonomy and the constitution of the dual monarchy, Austria-Hungary (1867).

I.—THE FALL OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE.

1. From 1866 to 1870 France descends rapidly in the path of decadence. Financial exhaustion. Demoralization of the army. Revival of socialism. Rochefort. Gambetta. Napoleon III, though sustained by the *plébiscite* of 1870, has lost his influence. Programme of the "liberal empire" under the ministry of Ollivier (January 2, 1870). Killing of Victor Noir by Pierre Bonaparte (January 10).
2. Prussia after Sadowa is flushed with victory, and the army, the best in Europe, is in perfect condition. Bismarck needs a war with France to seal his victories and consolidate Germany. Napoleon's satisfaction that Germany is

cut into "three slices" (Prussia, South Germany, and Austria) is resented at Berlin. In reply and to warn him not to take Luxemburg, all the German newspapers publish the text of the secret treaties by which Bismarck has made William I commander-in-chief of all the German states (March 19, 1867).

3. The Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish crown. The Spanish revolution of 1868 had driven Isabella from her throne. Napoleon opposed the candidacy of the Duke of Montpensier, and the crown was offered to Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Gramont, minister of foreign affairs of France, opposes this candidacy before the *corps législatif* as against the interests and honor of France (July 6, 1870). Leopold withdraws, and the King of Prussia gives his approbation to his retirement (July 12).
4. The Empress Eugénie wishes war. Duvernois tells the *corps législatif* that "guarantees for the future" are necessary. Gramont charges Benedetti to demand of the King of Prussia the assurance that he will not authorize a *new* proposition (July 13). The king replies at Ems that he *has nothing more to say*, and Bismarck makes this public (July 14). The French cabinet announces that the King of Prussia has "outraged" the French ambassador, refusing by note to grant him an audience (July 15). Thiers asks that the note be sent to the *corps législatif*, but Gramont *will not produce it!* The Chamber votes a credit of 500 millions of francs, Ollivier assumes responsibility for the war "with a light heart," and war is declared on July 17.
5. Napoleon, apparently deceived by the representations of Gramont, relies upon the alliance of Austria and Italy, which has not been secured. On July 28, leaving the regency to the Empress, he assumes command of the Army of the Rhine for the invasion of Germany. Bismarck publishes Napoleon's secret proposal of 1867 to recognize all of Prussia's annexations if William I *would aid him in conquering Belgium!*
6. Alsace is invaded by the Germans (August 4), and the army of MacMahon is crushed and forced to retreat (August 6).

7. False news of a victory is spread through Paris, and the city is wild with joy. A few hours afterward the truth is known, and the tide of public indignation is turned against the ministry, which is overthrown (August 9) amid a popular tumult.
8. The new ministry of Count Palikao entertains Paris with falsehoods while the Germans close in on the armies of France at Metz and Sedan. The Emperor surrenders himself and his army to the King of Prussia at Sedan (September 1, 1870).
9. The *corps législatif* decrees the end of Napoleon's dynasty (September 3), and a revolution breaks out in Paris (September 4). Journey of Thiers to London, Florence, St. Petersburg, and Vienna to procure an alliance for France or at least a diplomatic intervention. Government of the National Defense. The siege of Paris (September 18, 1870-January 29, 1871). The entrance of the Prussians. The Third Republic set up at Bordeaux (February 13, 1871). The Commune and second siege of Paris (April-May, 1871).

II.—THE PRELIMINARIES OF VERSAILLES AND THE TREATY OF FRANKFORT.

1. The Preliminaries of Versailles (February 26, 1871): (1) France accepts a new frontier; (2) agrees to pay an indemnity of five thousand million francs; (3) the Germans are to evacuate Paris and the French to pass to the left bank of the Loire; (4) the French occupants of the territory ceded are to be allowed to emigrate if they wish; (5) after the definitive treaty of peace the German troops are to be withdrawn only upon payment of the indemnity.
2. The Treaty of Frankfort (May 10, 1871) stipulates: (1) The new frontier gives Alsace and a portion of Lorraine, including the fortresses of Metz and Strasburg, to Germany; (2) the French occupants have till October 1, 1872, to declare their nationality; (3) the French government must repay the taxes of the territory ceded and other sums; (4) all religious authority over the territories ceded is renounced by France; (5) the payment of the indemnity

is regulated; (6) the most favored nation clause is exacted by Germany in commercial affairs; (7) expelled Germans are restored to their properties in France; (8) maritime prizes taken before March 2, 1871, are to be reciprocally restored.

3. In order to hasten the deliverance of France from the German occupation, France authorizes a loan of two thousand million francs (June 21, 1871). The subscription, opened June 28, surpasses four thousand million in six hours.
4. The Germans evacuate July 22 three departments. Rapid progress of the payments, ending the occupation September 16, 1873.

III.—EFFECT OF THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR ON EUROPE.

1. The Papal States during the French occupation for the protection of the Pope remained under his authority after the rest of the peninsula had been united in the Kingdom of Italy. In the Franco-Prussian war Napoleon III recalls the French troops from Rome (August, 1870), and after Sedan the Italian troops invade the ecclesiastical territory and occupy Rome (September 20, 1870). Under universal suffrage the Papal States are annexed to the Kingdom of Italy by a vote of 130,000 to 15,000.
2. Russia, desiring to change the arrangements of the Congress of Paris, takes advantage of the situation. After the battle of Metz, Gortchakoff issues a circular (October 29, 1870) announcing that rights founded on treaties do not preserve the moral sanction of former times.
3. The Treaty of London (March 13, 1871) is an attempt to readjust the affairs of the East by abrogating the arrangements of the Treaty of Paris for restraining the maritime power of Russia in the Black sea.
4. Prussia, having allayed trouble for a time, proceeds with the work of Germanic unification. Bismarck unites the states of the South with the North German Confederation (November 15–25), and the idea of reviving the empire is

soon circulated. The *Reichstag* offers the imperial crown to William I (December 10, 1870).

IV.—THE TREATY OF SAN STEFANO AND THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN.

1. The pan-Slavic propaganda of 1875. Insurrection of Serbia and Montenegro. The Bulgarian massacres. Intervention of Russia.
2. Conference at Constantinople (December, 1877). Turkey indisposed to receive counsel. Even England is checked by public opinion. Russia invades Roumania.
3. The Treaty of San Stefano between Russia and Turkey (March 3, 1878): (1) Independence of Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania; (2) Bulgaria made an autonomous tributary prinipality; (3) promise of reforms; (4) indemnity to Russia; (5) cession of territory to Russia in Asia Minor. Russian predominance in the Balkans.
4. General surprise in Europe and alarm in England.
5. The Congress of Berlin (June 13–July 13, 1878): (1) Bulgaria is constituted into an autonomous tributary principality, its fortresses destroyed, and delivered from Turkish occupation; (2) Eastern Roumelia is formed for the protection of Turkey, with administrative autonomy, but under the military direction of the Sultan; (3) Bosnia and Herzegovina are to be occupied and administered by Austria; (4) the independence of Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania is recognized by Turkey and by the Powers; (5) the cession to Russia of Kars, Batum, etc., is confirmed; (6) reforms are promised in Armenia; (7) religious liberty is to be maintained throughout the Ottoman Empire; (8) the treaties of Paris (1856) and London (1871) are maintained, except as modified by this treaty.
6. England, by special arrangement with the Sultan, obtains possession of Cyprus.
7. Enfeeblement of Turkey in Europe by the constitution of the independent Balkan States. Russia also curbed by these "buffer" states.











